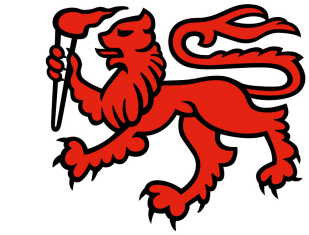

"I'm not making it up, I'm interpreting": Adapting the Founders and Survivors project for drama and web-series

Lydia Clare Nicholson, BCA (Hons), MMuseumSt

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Tasmania

Submitted for examination September 2018

Final submission November 2018

Declaration of Originality

This thesis, *"I'm not making it up, I'm interpreting": Adapting the Founders and Survivors project for drama and web-series,* contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to the best of my knowledge and belief no material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis, nor does the thesis contain any material that infringes copyright.

_____

Lydia Nicholson

ID: 391303

15/11/2018

Statement of Access

This thesis is not to be made available for loan or copying for two years following the date this statement was signed. Following that time, the thesis may be made available for loan and limited copying and communication in accordance with the *Copyright Act 1968.*

_____

Lydia Nicholson

ID: 391303

15/11/2018

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervision team of Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, Imelda Whelehan and Helen Trenos – I could not have wished for more supportive and collaborative supervisors. Hamish, thank you for letting me adapt your extraordinary research. Thank you also for your boundless enthusiasm for this project, for helping me see the big picture when I needed it most and for introducing me to Arkham and Eldritch Horror. Imelda, thank you for your kindness and advice, your reflective questions and for stoking my love affair with Neo-Victorianism. Helen, thank you for being so generous with your time, for providing feedback with such care and patience and for getting me into the studio.

Thank you to the Founders and Survivors Project for welcoming me into your team and the University of Tasmania for providing such a constructive research environment. My support village at Utas included Kris Harman and the Family History team, The Red Pen Bandits, Convict Club, Adaptation Gang, Theory Reading Group, all of my fellow HDRs and the nice staff at Lazenby's. Matt Delbridge, Barry Godfrey, Tim Hitchcock and Bob Shoemaker, thank you for being such a valuable part of my research journey.

A huge part of my research process involved getting to know the extraordinary island of Tasmania, a place that I feel so privileged to have been able to call my home. I felt so welcomed and included from the moment I arrived. Thank you Clare and Hamish for your unparalleled care and support, Simon and Emma for your heartfelt warmth, all of the girls in Book Club and the Wo-Man Booker Prize club, The Dewhurst Jennings Society, the Tasmanian Writers Centre, and sincere thanks to Imogen, Rosie and Evan for being such dear friends. Claire McCarthy thank you for being my partner in this from the first day, I am so proud of all that you are achieving.

During this thesis I moved interstate twice and overseas once, but amidst all of that change there were some constants who deserve my sincere thanks: Mum,

Dad and Lindsay for being three of my closest friends and going above and beyond in every possible way to help me finish this, my brothers Rowan, Dan and Mark and their families for cheering me on, and Andrew for making every challenge surmountable every single day. Thank you to the cast-members of *Dear Evan Hansen* and *Girl from the North Country* for being the best of writing companions. I also feel lucky to have an incredibly supportive group of friends, and have depended upon the CBs and STBs in many ways while undertaking this research. Particular thanks to Carolyn Burns for the best piece of thesis advice, Corey McMahon for his thoughts, Ashton Malcolm for her anchors, Amy Mackenzie for her encouragement, Lucy Barrett and Jack for the most precious morning coffee breaks, and Maddie Gill – often it felt like you knew more about this thesis than I did – thank you for always knowing the right question and for helping me find every answer.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Abstract

This thesis analyses the process of adapting an historical research project – the Founders and Survivors Project – for drama and web-series, a process characterised as the "creative interpretation" of history. Creative interpretations are ubiquitous and wield significant influence on the wider public's understanding of both history and the past. However, there is currently limited methodological research into their development from a practitioner perspective. This thesis applies a practice-based research strategy in order to investigate this process and charts an interdisciplinary course between archival history, heritage studies, adaptation studies and performance.

The Founders and Survivors Project uses quantitative and digital analysis techniques to investigate the experience and legacy of the approximately 73,000 convicts transported to Van Diemen's Land (present day Tasmania) between 1803 and 1853. The project findings have challenged a number of long-held myths about the Tasmanian convict experience. Adaptations of the Founders and Survivors Project have been developed through practice-based research and are included in this thesis. They comprise two play scripts (*The Needle* and *Are your z-scores getting encores?*) and an eight episode web-series (*Oh Hi There History*). These three creative outputs are used as case studies to critically engage with some of the key issues and challenges that come to the fore in the process of creative interpretation.

The thesis establishes that archival historians do not just employ discipline-specific methods for engaging with the past but that archival history can also be framed as a specific medium. By applying an adaptation studies-informed framework to characterise the transposing of content between mediums, a productive and non-hierarchical relationship between history and creative interpretation emerges. The extent to which a creative interpreter can pursue "archival accuracy" in a manner akin to an archival historian is heavily informed by the medium in which they are developing a creative interpretation, the audience it is being developed for, and its purpose. This purpose can often

include, but is not exclusive to, the accurate communication of historical research.

Although this thesis finds that the widely noted dissonance between creative interpretation and contemporary archival history is largely unavoidable it also maps common ground to foster collaboration between the two. It does this by introducing a new methodological tool, a Creative Interpretation Compass, to support the making of considered, contextualised choices whilst navigating between six key agendas in developing a creative interpretation – of which archival accuracy is just one. These choices all have ethical ramifications, including risks of misrepresentation, decontextualisation of digital data and the particular issues of consent and representation that arise when working with convict archives.

Introduction

Adapting the archive

In my play script, *The Needle*, two historians successfully summon Anna, the ghost of an Irish woman who was transported to Van Diemen's Land as a convict. Thanks to the level of detail in the Tasmanian convict archives, my fictionalised historians appear to be able to piece together so comprehensive a picture of Anna's time under sentence that they perform a kind of "archival necromancy".[1] The Tasmanian convict archives represent the bulk of documentary evidence about convict transportation to Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania. The approximately 73,000 men, women and children convicted of crimes in British courts and transported as convicts to Van Diemen's Land between 1803 and 1853 became some of the most comprehensively documented nineteenth-century working-class men and women in the British Empire.[2] In light of their global significance the archives were placed on the UNESCO Memory of the World register in 2007.[3] Over the course of the last decade many of the convict records have been digitally imaged, indexed and placed online to protect the originals, and most researchers, myself included, primarily engage with them in digital form.[4] The Founders and Survivors project, a collaborative historical research project partly based at the University of Tasmania, has played a considerable role in this digitisation process. The project's researchers use quantitative techniques to analyse the digitised archives *en masse* to make findings about the wider convict experience and legacy.

---

[1] Lydia Nicholson *The Needle*, Appendix 2, 294.
[2] James Bradley et al., "Research note: The founders and survivors project," *The History of the Family* 15, no. 4 (2010): 468.
[3] National Committee of Australia, "#17 Records of the Tasmanian Convict Department 1803-1893," UNESCO Memory of the World, http://www.amw.org.au/register/listings/records-tasmanian-convict-department-1803-1893.
[4] Libraries Tasmania, "Tasmanian Name Index," Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office, https://linctas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/names/.

The digitised convict archives played a key role for me in this doctoral research. I have analysed my process of adapting the Founders and Survivors project for drama and web-series. In developing two play scripts (*The Needle* and *Are your z-scores getting encores?)* and a web-series *(Oh Hi There History)*, I drew heavily upon the digitised versions of the convict records.

I was nearly three years into my research before I visited the original hard copies of the archives. Chaperoned by an archivist, I wandered between the cool metal aisles of the locked temperature-controlled room admiring shelf after shelf of books the size of side-tables. Hide-bound, spines peeling, paper warped and yellowed, covers the colour of bronze, garnet, amber – each book of records a precious gem. They were beautiful, in fact surprisingly so. I had been misled by my easy online searches to think they would look hospital-cornered and official, but these books ached with messy, rich stories, and they were so dense and ragged – so clearly hand-made. This had all been obscured through the digitisation process. What I had gained from the records becoming easily searchable and portable, I had lost in missing the tangible, almost palpable sense of them as nineteenth-century recordkeeping systems made and used by people.

The process of adaptation, when content is transposed into a new medium or context, inevitably results in gains and losses of information.[5] Through the digitisation process the convict records are adapted through a different medium, for a different purpose, and for a different audience than they were originally intended. As I discovered when I visited them in person, the information within them and the meanings that might be gleaned from them necessarily change as a result. There is a growing body of research investigating the archival digital revolution and its influence on the way historians and non-historians alike engage with archival sources.[6] When the Founders and Survivors project

[5] Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 16.
[6] For example see Tim Hitchcock, "Confronting the Digital," *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 1 (2013). Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, "Making History Online: The Colin Matthews Lecture for the Public Understanding of History," *Transactions of the RHS* 25 (2015). Barry Godfrey, "Historical and Archival Research Methods," in *The SAGE Handbook of Criminological Research Methods*,

researchers analyse the digitised convict records and publish works of archival history this again results in content and meanings different to an engagement with the records themselves. The process of writing history, the use of quantitative and computational techniques, and the differences between an historical source and an historian's interpretation of a source have all been widely researched.[7]

When I write a play adapting the Founders and Survivors findings, the content and meanings become different still – shaped again by a new purpose, audience, medium and time. This process of adaptation has been surprisingly under-researched from a practitioner perspective, particularly in relation to the adaptation of historical research. This thesis engages with that gap by analysing my process of adapting the Founders and Survivors project for drama and web-series.

A practice-based research methodology

Having trained and worked professionally as a performer, then a playwright, my past practice before undertaking this research involved developing creative interpretations of historical research in both a theatre and museum theatre context. I worked for a number of years at the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences (MAAS) in Sydney (Australia), writing, producing and performing museum theatre for school, family and adult audiences. The MAAS collection is vast and diverse, with over 500,000 objects relating to Australia's history of science, design, innovation and technology.[8] Years before I saw the cracked spines and jaundiced paper of the Tasmanian convict archives I had toured

---

ed. David Gadd, Susanne Karstedt, and Steven F. Messner (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012).

[7] For example see E.H. Carr, *What Is History?* (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1961). Mark T. Gilderhus, *History and Historians*, Seventh ed. (New Jersey: Pearson Education Inc, 2010). John Tosh and Seán Lang, *The Pursuit of History*, Fourth ed. (Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited, 2006); Tom Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel* (Victoria, Australia: Black Inc., 2016).

[8] Previously best known as The Powerhouse Museum Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, "About," Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, https://maas.museum/about/.

MAAS's massive collection of cars to write a character-led tour of the museum's transport exhibition for school students, acquainted myself with mid-nineteenth-century steam engines for a play about the science of steam power, and immersed myself in the history of the Space Race, Australian aviation, the Victorian gold rush and NASA's Mars Rover program. I also developed plays interpreting history for a range of audiences in a theatre context (as opposed to museum theatre), which covered similarly diverse historical territory, from the Russian Revolution to Australia during the First World War.

In my past practice it became apparent that I did not have a clear understanding of the relationship my creative interpretations had with the historical research they were based on. I found that I could always explain my creative choices from a dramaturgical perspective, but not necessarily from an historical one. When faced with the choice, should I ultimately cede authority to history and the historian's methods of engaging with the past, or privilege the imaginative or experiential tools that were particular to my practice? In response to this uncertainty I sought a more explicit definition of "historical accuracy" in my practice so that I could articulate when and why I might diverge from it in pursuit of my artistic aims. I had also begun to recognise a sense of discomfort around my perceived ethical obligations as a creative interpreter. Was it appropriate to make changes to archival information in my interpretations, not just from a dramaturgical or historical perspective, but from an ethical one? These questions that arose in my past practice became the impetus for beginning this doctoral research. Having recognised the questions through my practice, I necessarily needed a research methodology that would allow me to answer them *in practice*, not just theoretically.

Working with a practice-based research strategy allowed me to research my own creative process and make new findings about my methods. Practice-based research is a widely recognised mode of enquiry that can reveal insights and findings that could not be found through qualitative or quantitative research.[9] By

[9] Brad Haseman, "A Manifesto for Performative Research," *Media International Australia*, no. 118 (2006): 100.

researching with an overarching reflective practice methodology I was able to identify and reflect upon challenges and issues as my research progressed and make changes to my creative methods accordingly.[10] Prior to this research I had not framed my creative practice as adaptation. The significant shift in my creative methods when I began to do so is demonstrative of the value of working with a reflective practice methodology. Adopting an adaptation framework also proved one of the key findings in this thesis.

Creative arts practices like mine are nuanced, subjective and individualized to the specific practitioner. As a practice-based researcher it was therefore vital to integrate my "personal methods" with "the rules of traditional research methodology" in order to legitimise my practice *as research* and to analyse how my individual choices might be positioned within a wider context.[11] Robyn Stewart describes the practice-based researcher's aim as being to "uncover, record, interpret and position" the practitioner's own processes "within the context of professional contemporary practices of the field."[12] I have done this by charting an interdisciplinary course between history, heritage studies and adaptation studies, drawing heavily on drama and theatre studies, film and television studies and dark tourism. I have not siloed theory and practice, either in my own research or when drawing from these fields, but rather have integrated them together as "praxis." Praxis acknowledges the way that "ideas have flown into practices then back into ideas" in my research.[13]

This notion of praxis is demonstrated by the different kinds of findings in my research, expressed both through "words in discursive text," in the form of this thesis, and what Brad Haseman describes as "symbolic data" – the outputs of my practice.[14] My symbolic data takes the form of my creative outputs: two play

---

[10] Robyn Stewart, "(Re)inventing artists' research: constructing living forms of theory," *Text* 7, no. 2 (2003).
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Bree Hadley, "Practice as Method: The Ex/centric Fixations Project," in *Material Inverntions: Applying Creative Arts Research*, ed. Estelle Barrett and Barbara Bolt (London, UK: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2014), 11.
[14] Haseman, 102.

scripts and a filmed web-series.[15] In response to the particular findings of my research I have developed a thesis and my creative outputs are included as Appendices, rather than as separately examinable creative outputs accompanied by an exegesis.

My findings emerged from my interrogation of four key research questions, which arose out of my past practice and in consultation with the wider literature:

1. What is the relationship between archival history and creative interpretation in my praxis?
2. How do I navigate the tension between "historical accuracy" and "artistic integrity" in my praxis?
3. What role does "authenticity" play in my praxis?
4. What are my ethical obligations as a creative interpreter?

Terms such as "historical accuracy", "artistic integrity" and "authenticity" are all multifaceted, multidisciplinary and, as such, potentially contested. As an interdisciplinary researcher, before I could answer each of my research questions I necessarily needed to investigate how I was framing each term. I have broadly framed my practice in this thesis as "creative interpretation." This draws a connection between my own creative arts methods and heritage – broadly defined as the process of "clarifying" the past by "infusing" it with "present purposes".[16] Creative interpretation might include anything from interpretations of history for film and television, historical fiction or even video games set in the past. In this thesis I focus on creative interpretation for drama and web-series.

It is for good reason that there are no binding frameworks or widely established guidelines for creatively interpreting history. The variances in creative methods between practitioners, the diverse methodological approaches and differences in

[15] Appendix 1 *Oh Hi There History* (web-series) Appendix 2 *The Needle* (play script) Appendix 3 *Are your z-scores getting encores?* (play script)
[16] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

findings between the work of individual historians and between fields of history, and the specificity of the context that an interpretation is developed for (including choices about medium, audience and driving aims) mean that individual findings cannot be adopted wholesale across the field. The research findings in this thesis are specifically tied to my adaptation of the Founders and Survivors project for drama and web-series and my own individual creative methods. However, I have comprehensively contextualised my methods and findings within wider professional practice. This means this thesis makes a substantial research contribution and can inform, or be applied to, the work of other practitioners or researchers working in creative interpretation.

The value of researching our engagement with the past

The impetus for this research originally stemmed from questions that had arisen in my own creative practice, but there is also a wider rationale for this research relating to the use of, and engagement with, history in contemporary Australia. "History" can refer to both the study and representation of the past by historians and the actual past – what actually happened.[17] This thesis focuses on the former – the way the past is researched and written about by historians. I refer to "archival history" throughout this thesis to describe the type of interpretation of documentary archival evidence undertaken by the Founders and Survivors project that differs from other evidence-based historical practices such as oral history or archaeology. The process of researching and writing archival history has not remained constant over time, nor has the kind of person who undertakes historical research, but rather it transforms with each new generation. The field of quantitative history, practised by the Founders and Survivors project, is evidence of the changing digital face of archival history as a means of engaging with the past.

If "the past is a foreign country," then precedent suggests that at some point someone will try to claim it.[18] Archival history puts forward a strong case for this

[17] Tosh and Lang, xviii.
[18] L.P. Hartley, *The Go-Between* (UK: Hamish Hamilton, 1953), Prologue.

territory with its "commitment to evidence that can be revisited" carving a path that can be "retraced" and even "challenged".[19] But the archival historian is not the only visitor to the past. Historian Graeme Davison asks whether history and heritage are "fellow travellers towards a common goal" or in fact "rivals for the same valuable bit of turf, the past?"[20] Richard White suggests that history is actually "the enemy of memory," with the two stalking each other across "the fields of the past, claiming the same terrain".[21] Tom Griffiths writes about the oft perceived "turf war" between history and fiction.[22] The past is a perpetually disputed zone, and a valuable one.

This metaphor becomes uncomfortably sharp in the context of Australian colonial history, invasion and the continuing legacies of invasion documented today in the socio-economic and health disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians.[23] Ownership and understanding of the past is not neutral. It is deeply political, intrinsically tied to notions of individual or collective identity, can have huge social and economic consequences, and can often be dangerous and even violent. John Tosh and Seán Lang assert that "[t]he past will never be placed beyond controversy" but that "nor should it be."[24] Instead they see a "[p]lurality of historical interpretation" as an "essential – if underestimated – prerequisite for mature democratic politics."[25] British historian EP Thompson also believed that history should have political aspirations, in that "[c]auses which were lost in England might [elsewhere] yet be won."[26] Whilst making choices about how we understand and interpret

[19] Griffiths, 272.
[20] Graeme Davison, "Heritage: From Patrimony to Pastiche," in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. Graham Fairclough, et al. (Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 35.
[21] Marilyn Lake, "Monuments of Manhood and Colonial Dependence: The cult of ANZAC as Compensation " in *Memory, Monuments and Museums: The past in the present*, ed. Marilyn Lake (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006), 43.
[22] Griffiths, 272.
[23] Australian Human Rights Commission, "Close the Gap: Indigenous Health Campaign," https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-social-justice/projects/close-gap-indigenous-health#what.
[24] Tosh and Lang, 208.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Inga Clendinnen, *The History Question : who owns the past?*, Quarterly essay: issue 23 (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2006), 57.

Australian history does not mend or erase what happened in the past, it can have a significant influence on what happens in the present and what might happen in the future.

But perhaps crushingly for many historians, Peter Beck suggests that "[r]elatively few academic histories are read by the general public when accessing the past".[27] Instead, members of the post-schooling public primarily engage with the past through interpretations of history – visiting heritage sites, reading historical fiction and watching documentaries or historical dramas. Creative interpretations like film and television histories are now "the chief carriers of historical messages in our culture".[28] The theatre has also long been a site for representation and debate about the construction of history, heritage and collective identity, stretching back to Shakespeare's history plays and beyond. Theatre theorist Freddie Rokem notes the specific role that the theatre plays in engaging directly in, and intervening in, ideological debates about the past.[29] Since the late twentieth century a range of Australian playwrights have tackled the settler/invader tension that polarises understandings of Australian colonial history, and Australian theatre "has a long history of staging the nation".[30] While digital media interpretations of history are relatively under researched in comparison to historical film or theatre, they are fast becoming one of the primary methods of engaging with history for the world's rapidly growing online genealogy community.[31]

Much of the critical discourse around creative interpretations relates to how closely they mirror historians' findings and methods of analysis. The tendency for this to dominate discussion is perhaps exacerbated because of the public's

---

[27] Peter J. Beck, "For historians, even 'historians of a postmodernist kind', 'presentation' is the word," *Rethinking History* 19, no. 3 (2015): 430.
[28] Ibid., 437.
[29] Freddie Rokem, *Performing History: Theatrical Representations of the Past in Contemporary Theatre* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2000), 3.
[30] Hilary Glow, *Power Plays* (NSW, Australia: Currency Press, 2007), 3, 39.
[31] Ancestry Corporate, "The many ways our family has grown," Ancestry Corporate, https://www.ancestry.com/corporate/about-ancestry/company-facts.

propensity to engage with creative interpretations of history *as a replacement* for directly reading the work of historians. Peter Beck notes that for many people "Hollywood History is the only history".[32] It naturally follows then that academics, and historians in particular, have an interest in discussing the ways historical films do and do not reflect an historian's engagement with the past. But film theorist Robert Rosenstone suggests that "criticizing the Hollywood historical film" has become "a kind of reflex action among academics", who can easily "point to specific scenes, sections of dialogue or sequences of events" and explain how they fail to accurately reflect archival evidence.[33] Television documentaries are similarly accused of "dumbing down" history,[34] theatre described as "bad history well told,"[35] performances at heritage sites criticised as "misleading" about the past in comparison to historians' findings,[36] and historical fiction disparaged for non-evidence-based characters and narratives.[37] There is a demonstrable difference between the way creative practitioners and historians interpret archival traces and engage with the past.

Beck suggests that creative interpretations are made by practitioners "who not only possess a very different agenda from that of academic historians" but perhaps also possess "varying degrees of awareness of good historical practice and the latest scholarship."[38] I have found the former wields a significant influence on my creative interpretation of historical research. However, I have found that the latter can be somewhat misleading when cited as a cause for creative interpretations not accurately reflecting historical research in a manner

---

[32] Peter J. Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present* (US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 168.
[33] Ibid., 197. ibid., 172.
[34] Ibid., 104.
[35] James G Gibb, "The Archaeologist as Playwright," in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. Graham Fairclough, et al. (Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 546.
[36] Colin Sorensen, "Theme Parks and Time Machines," in *The New Museology*, ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books, 1989), 65. Scott Magelssen, "Making History in the Second Person: Post-touristic Considerations for Living Historical Interpretation," *Theatre Journal* 58, no. 2 (2006): 291. Andrew Robertshaw, "Live Interpretation," in *Heritage Interpretation*, ed. Alison Hems and Marion Blockley (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 52
[37] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 206.
[38] Ibid., 12.

akin to a work of history. A great many creative interpreters are documented as having a considered commitment to good historical practice – film-maker James Cameron is infamous for his painstakingly detailed research for *Titanic* (1997), playwright Michael Frayn approached his sources with precision and care in writing *Copenhagen* (1998), and for historical novelist Philippa Gregory, "the history has to come first."[39] Despite this, all three of these practitioners have had their creative interpretations variously contested for not reflecting appropriate historical methods and practices.[40]

Through engaging with my research questions I will argue in this thesis that the dissonance between creative interpretations and history in how they represent the past does not necessarily stem from ignorance, accident or lack of care on the part of the creative practitioner but rather is necessitated by the very process of creative interpretation. There are relatively few research studies that critically engage with the various agendas and aims that a creative interpreter must negotiate apart from accurately reflecting historical research.[41] This means that much of the public's (and historians') understanding of the process of creative interpretation is founded on non-evidence-based assumptions. Increased knowledge about the process of creative interpretation within both the academy and the wider community would support a more nuanced and critical discourse

---

[39] Fiona Terry-Chandler, "Vanished Circumstance: Titanic, heritage, and film," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6, no. 1 (2000): 75. Michael Frayn, *Copenhagen* (UK: Methuen Books, 1998), 95. Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 210.

[40] Serena Davies, "David Starkey: it is 'ludicrous' to suggest that historical novelists have authority," *The Telegraph*, 11 May 2013. Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History* (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2009), 231. Terry-Chandler, 73.

[41] In a television history context see Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*. For museum theatre see: Catherine Hughes, "Theatre Performance in Museums: Art and Pedagogy," *Youth Theatre Journal* 24, no. 1 (2010); "Theater and Controversy in Museums," *The Journal of Museum Education* 23, no. 3 (1998); "Performance for learning: How emotions play a part" (Ohio State University, 2008); *Museum Theatre: Communicating with Visitors Through Drama* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1998). Anthony Jackson and Jenny Kidd, *Performing Heritage: Research, Practice and Innovation in Museum Theatre and Live Interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010). In historical fiction see: Donna Lee Brien, "Creative practice as research: a creative writing case study," *Media International Australia*, no. 118 (2006).

about creative interpretation. This would allow critiques to extend beyond measuring perceived notions of "historical accuracy," and instead productively explore the political, social, cultural, economic or industrial influences on creative interpretations and how these shape our engagement with the past.[42] This thesis makes a significant contribution by interrogating these various agendas in my own process of creative interpretation through practice-based research.

Beck is right in suggesting that few creative interpreters have the same aptitude or understanding of history as an academic archival historian. This holds true for practitioners in any field – an historian does not have the same understanding of theatre as a playwright. This difference in understanding only becomes problematic when theorists from different fields intersect in discussing the same interdisciplinary subject – in this case creative interpretation. According to Rosenstone, theorists in fields like film studies or literature often do not mean quite the same thing as historians when they use the word "history," regularly equating it with "the past" rather than an historian's analysis of "the traces of the past".[43] In recognising this as one of the key obstacles in making my analysis in this thesis relevant to the field of history, I have adopted an understanding of history that closely reflects a contemporary archival historian's. This then allows me to critically engage with the propensity for creative interpretations to not accurately reflect notions of history *as framed by historians*. I have done this by embedding myself within the historical research team of the Founders and Survivors project.

The Founders and Survivors project is, for the first time, amassing all of the known archival records relating to the Tasmanian convict system into one relational database. In this database individual convict lives are traceable, allowing for detailed cradle-to-grave histories about not just convicts but their

---

[42] Shelley Cobb, "Canons, Critical Approaches, and Contexts," in *Teaching Adaptations*, ed. Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 19.
[43] Robert A. Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History* (Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 10.

relations both in Australia and back home in Britain.[44] However, the primary focus for the Founders and Survivors researchers is not on individual convicts, but the collective convict experience. Researchers use quantitative techniques to explore the impact of particular events or experiences on convict outcomes and the long-term intergenerational effects of the convict experience.[45] They read the convict archive "against the grain" to reveal the systems and social, political and economic influences that shaped its construction.[46] Since the project's inception a wealth of research outputs have been published, discussing key findings, data collection practices and the management of the database.[47]

In order to analyse my process of adapting historical research I necessarily needed to select some historical research to adapt. If I am framing my creative interpretation practice in relation to the practice of archival history today, then the Founders and Survivors project is leading the charge in new techniques and ways of analysing historical data, pushing at the existing form of archival history and developing new methodologies and ways of seeing the past. By embedding

---

[44] Bradley et al.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 99.
[47] For example see: Rebecca Kippen, "The Convict Nursery at the Cascades Female Factory, Hobart," *Founders and Survivors Chainletter*, no. 3 (2009); "'A most shocking tissue of barbarous cruelty': Scandal and Death in the Queen's Orphan Schools," *Founders and Survivors Chainletter* 5 (2010); Janet McCalman, "The Founders and Survivors Project: An overview," ibid., no. 1 (2009); "The Advance of Respectability in Tasmania," *Founders and Survivors Chainletter*, no. 4 (2010); "Visible and Invisible Vandemonians in Victoria," *Founders and Survivors Chainletter* 7 (2011); Emma Christopher and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, "Convict transportation in global context, c. 1700-88," in *The Cambridge History of Australia: Volume 1: Indigenous and Colonial Australia*, ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, ""Those Lads Contrived a Plan": Attempts at Mutiny on Australia-Bound Convict Vessels," *International Review of Social History* 58, no. S21 (2013); ""And all my great hardships endured?" Irish convicts in Van Diemen's Land," in *Transnational Perspectives on Modern Irish History*, ed. Niall Whelehan (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2015); Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, Kris Inwood, and Jim Stankovich, "Prison and the Colonial Family," *The History of the Family* 20, no. 2 (2015); Hamish Maxwell-Stewart and Rebecca Kippen, "Sickness and Death on Convict Voyages to Australia," in *Lives in Transition: Longitudinal Research from Historical Sources*, ed. Peter Baskerville and Kris Inwood (Canada: McGill University Press, 2014).

myself within the project team it enabled my understanding of its historians' methods to be as comprehensive and well supported as possible.

Increases in the digitisation of historical records worldwide means that more and more information is becoming available in forms like the Founders and Survivors project database, making it able to be manipulated by computational techniques. As well as using traditional quantitative analysis, these can include mapping information, mining data in order to explore changes in vocabulary or sentence structure over time, or network analysis—a type of digital research that borrows from the social sciences and explores the ways that historical entities are related to one another.[48] The type of history done by the Founders and Survivors project team is multidisciplinary, collaborative, global and digital, and is indicative of a wider digital "revolution" in the practice of history worldwide.[49] It is not just historians who are being affected by the shift to the digital but any researcher or interpreter who engages with digital archives. In light of this, I have extended my own creative methods into new territory by analysing the development of a creative interpretation for digital media. My findings about this process, particularly in relation to ethical considerations when interpreting digital data, make a new contribution to this growing field of analysis.

The Founders and Survivors project findings are overturning a number of long-held "myths" about the Tasmanian convict experience.[50] These myths are often perpetuated in creative interpretations and convict heritage sites, which is indicative of a wider and widely commented on disconnect between convict history and its representation through heritage.[51] This disconnect can be seen as

---

[48] Marten Düring, "Network Analaysis in the Historical Disciplines," Historical Network Research, http://historicalnetworkresearch.org/about/.
[49] Hitchcock, 6.
[50] Tosh and Lang, 5.
[51] For example see Eleanor Conlin Casella and Clayton Fredericksen, "Legacy of the 'fatal shore': The heritage and archaeology of confinement in post-colonial Australia," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (2004); Kay Daniels, "Cults of Nature: Cults of History," *Island Magazine* 16 (1983). Richard Flanagan, "Crowbar history: Panel games and Port Arthur," *Australian Society* 9, no. 8

a consequence of the turbulent relationship historians and the public have historically had with the convict archives, the shifting role that convicts play in notions of Australian identity, the relatively privileged minority experience of convicts who went on to have descendants living today, and the disproportionate emphasis that convict heritage sites have placed on punishment narratives. My research adds a new methodological perspective to this discourse about the relationship between convict history and heritage.

The three creative interpretations I developed in this research do not, on the whole, reflect the Founders and Survivors findings in a way that might be deemed accurate by an historian. This is patently not because I have not engaged with historical research or disregarded it but, as I have found, because my very process of creative interpretation makes it almost impossible to do so. Historian Tom Griffiths asserts that "[h]istorians always have at least two stories to tell: what we think happened, and how we know what we think happened."[52] As well as being a *process* of engaging with the past I establish in this thesis that history is also a *medium* with specific representational practices that represent discipline-specific methods of engaging with the past. The mediums that my creative interpretations are developed for – drama and web-series – render near-invisible any sense of *how* I have engaged with history during their development. It is only through reading this thesis that my process is made clear. By undertaking a practice-based research strategy this thesis therefore makes a significant contribution by making an otherwise invisible creative process visible.

Framing the relationship between a creative interpretation and history "as adaptation" through my application of adaptation theory supports this notion of history as a medium. In order to adapt a work of history as a play or web-series I

(1990). C. Strange, "From 'Place of MIsery' to 'Lottery of Life': Interpreting Port Arthur's Past," *Open Museum Journal* 2 (2000). Julia Clark, "Talking with empty rooms," *Historic Environment* 16, no. 3 (2002). Hamish Maxwell-Stewart and Lydia Nicholson, "Penal Transportation, Family History, and Convict Tourism," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Tourism*, ed. Jacqueline Z. Wilson, et al. (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

[52] Griffiths, 272.

must transpose it to a different medium, with vastly different representational practices and systems of meaning.[53] This inevitably results in losses and gains of information between the two texts and renders true fidelity to the historical research impossible. My application of adaptation theory from a practitioner perspective pioneers a new strand of enquiry within the field of adaptation studies, which primarily focuses on discussion of theory or the reception of adapted texts rather than their development. By pairing my adaptation framework with theories from history and heritage studies, this thesis makes a significant new contribution to interdisciplinary research between these fields.

One of the other key contributions this thesis makes is in the development of a new methodological tool. I developed a "Creative Interpretation Compass" that formalises the competing agendas and considerations I negotiate in crafting a creative interpretation of history. It is founded upon clear, well-supported definitions for the concepts of "historical accuracy", "artistic integrity" and "authenticity" that were all raised in my research questions, as well as a number of other key aims that emerged during my research. The six cardinal directions of the Compass are Accuracy, Artistry, Accessibility, Authenticity, Accounting and Integrity. By using the Compass as a guide while developing my creative interpretations I establish that my process requires a constant shifting between agendas, shaped by a deep consideration of an interpretation's intended audience. I demonstrate that choices that do not accurately reflect historical research – that are *not* made in pursuit of the Accuracy direction of the Compass – are largely made in active pursuit of another aim. The Compass proved flexible to the different aims and medium-specific needs of my various creative interpretations in this research and, having comprehensively contextualised it within wider theory and practice, has the capacity to be applied by other creative practitioners or researchers in this field.

[53] Timothy Corrigan, "Literature on screen, a history: in the gap," in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, ed. Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 31.

This thesis also builds upon existing research relating to the ethics of interpretation, extending it into new territory by providing a practitioner perspective on some of these issues. Many of the ethical issues I faced in my praxis are similarly shared by historians and are growing concerns in light of the widespread digitisation of historical data and the digitisation of historians' research methods. These issues are particularly prescient in light of the exponentially increasing online participation of family historians. By exploring these ethical issues through my praxis this thesis makes a significant contribution by suggesting applied methods for negotiating them, rather than just theoretical solutions.

The final key contribution this thesis makes is in its located-ness within history. Despite being inherently interdisciplinary and establishing from the outset that creative interpretations *are not* history, I have been embedded administratively, physically and epistemologically, within the University of Tasmania's Department of History and the Founders and Survivors project for the duration of this research. Working with an historian's understanding of history meant I could better interrogate how and why my creative interpretations might perpetuate non-evidence-based myths about the past. By communicating and contextualising my own process in a way that might be relevant to historians I also dispel some of the myths that plague creative interpretation that suggest it is not as worthwhile or disciplined a mode of engagement with the past compared to history.[54] My intention for this research is to demonstrate that, despite the vast differences between the practices of history and creative interpretation, the two can in fact be highly complementary, drawing on Davison's image of "fellow travellers" rather than "rivals."[55]

[54] Robert A. Rosenstone, "Walker: The Dramatic Film as (Postmodern) History," in *Revisioning History*, ed. Robert A. Rosenstone (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995), 202.
[55] Davison, 35.

How to read this thesis

Because my findings are tied to my process of creatively interpreting the Founders and Survivors project I will discuss my three creative interpretations at length throughout this thesis. As such, a familiarity with them as individual texts will support a reader's understanding of my findings. I would advise a reader of this thesis to engage with these texts after reading this *Introduction* before continuing on to the subsequent chapters.

Oh Hi There History is a web-series made up of eight x five-minute episodes with a total running time of approximately forty minutes. The series follows "Lydia," a family historian, who is interested in learning more about Tasmanian convict history and the Founders and Survivors project. Over the course of the series she is joined by a host of characters including a Quantitative Historian, a colonial-era Lieutenant-Governor, a Female Convict and a nineteenth-century Surgeon, who each contributes a unique perspective on the Tasmanian convict experience. The series was developed for family historian audiences interested in Tasmanian convict history but who might not be aware of the work done by the Founders and Survivors project or the practice of quantitative history. It is an adaptation of the wider Founders and Survivors project aims and methods as well as three key Founders and Survivors research publications.[56] The web links to the videos can be found in *Appendix 1*.

The Needle is a full-length play developed for four actors with an intended performance time of approximately eighty minutes. *The Needle* was developed for contemporary Australian theatre audiences (not museum theatre audiences). The play introduces historians Richard and Amelia as they pitch their research (based on the Founders and Survivors project research) to a wealthy entrepreneur. Their presentation is interrupted by Anna, the ghost of a convict summoned from the archives, and the story Anna weaves of her experiences as a

[56] Maxwell-Stewart, Inwood, and Stankovich. Maxwell-Stewart and Kippen. Maxwell-Stewart, ""And all my great hardships endured?" Irish convicts in Van Diemen's Land."

convict transports the play back to the colonial past – with violent consequences. *The Needle* was written to explore the value we place on history today, issues of consent and collective identity, and the highly subjective and fragmentary layers of documentation and interpretation through which we build an understanding of the past. The play script can be found in *Appendix 2*.

Are your z-scores getting encores? is a short play that doubles as a conference paper, developed with an intended performance time of 20 minutes. It was written to be performed by me as a conference paper for an academic audience made up primarily of historians, quantitative historians and criminologists. It explains and demonstrates some of the techniques that a creative interpreter can use in interpreting quantitative history as well as some of the challenges, and is an adaptation of the Founders and Survivors publication "Prison and the Colonial Family."[57] The driving aim of *Are your z-scores getting encores?* was to present my research at a conference as praxis – that interweaving of theory and practice that characterises my approach in this thesis. The play script can be found in *Appendix 3*.

Chapter 1 Literature Review outlines the interdisciplinary approach I have taken and positions this thesis within the wider literature, primarily at the intersection between heritage studies, adaptation studies, drama and theatre studies and history.

Chapter 2 Methodology provides a detailed explanation of practice-based research, my use of a reflective practice strategy and describes the creative methods I have used in developing my creative interpretations. It is perhaps a little misleading to include one stand-alone chapter in this thesis titled "Methodology" considering the findings of this research are methodological. This chapter outlines the overall passage and execution of the research, but the subsequent chapters, in detailing my analysis and findings in relation to my process, are also inherently methodological.

[57] Maxwell-Stewart, Inwood, and Stankovich.

Chapter 3 Convicts, The Past and Archival History positions the Founders and Survivors project within wider Tasmanian convict history and historiography, outlining some of the key tools and techniques the project's historians have used to make their findings. This chapter establishes archival history as both a set of methods and a medium.

Chapter 4 Questioning Authority explores the shifting relationship between archival history and creative interpretation in my past practice and draws upon the wider literature to interrogate the notion of "authority." I argue that it is problematic if the relationship between the two is hierarchical with authority vested in either history or creative interpretation.

Chapter 5 Adapting History describes my adoption of an adaptation studies framework in my praxis. By drawing on adaptation theory I frame the relationship between archival history and creative interpretation as non-hierarchical. Applying an adaptation framework means acknowledging that losses as well as gains of information are inevitable during the adaptation process and establishes that every adaptation of history is a multi-layered palimpsest of other texts and contexts apart from a specific historical source text. This allows me to measure the relationship between a specific work of archival history and a creative interpretation along a spectrum of "fidelity," with true fidelity being impossible.

Chapter 6 Archival Accuracy extends my discussion of "fidelity" to establish a definition of "accuracy" in my praxis. Despite being a commonly used term, "historical accuracy" proved problematic and I instead define accuracy in terms of "archival accuracy." My approach to archival accuracy means having fidelity to specific historical texts or sources, in the same way that an historian interprets specific texts or sources. However, the mediums that my creative interpretations are developed in and the creative methods that I use do not support an historian's degree of archival accuracy. Instead my pursuit of archival accuracy is in constant and necessary tension with the artistic aims of my creative interpretations.

Chapter 7 The Compass outlines my development of the Creative Interpretation Compass, a methodological tool that navigates the different aims and agendas in my process of creative interpretation, of which archival accuracy is just one.[58] The Compass demonstrates that at times when my creative interpretations do not have a high degree of archival accuracy it is because another key aim has been prioritised, specific to the medium, intended audience or context that it is being developed in.

Chapter 8 The Ethics of Creative Interpretation discusses some of the key ethical issues relating to creative interpretation that arose in my research. In using the Compass I regularly make choices for my creative interpretations that do not reflect archival accuracy. This can potentially be ethically fraught if an audience assumes that a creative interpretation has applied an historian's approach to accuracy. By using various methods to signpost my approach to accuracy in a creative interpretation I can attempt to influence audience expectations. This chapter also discusses the risk of decontextualizing digital data, the ethics of selecting particular historical content, the need for engagement with Indigenous perspectives, issues of consent in the interpretation of convict data, maintaining fidelity to numbers and the need to be aware of the ethical issues faced by historians themselves.

In my *Conclusion* I expand upon one final ethical concern in my praxis: in order to productively critique creative interpretations and their adaptation of history it is vital to have an understanding of the process of creative interpretation. Unlike when reading a work of history, a creative practitioner's approach to historical research is not inherent within the creative interpretation itself. You will find this when you now watch *Oh Hi There History* and read *The Needle* and *Are your z-scores getting encores?*.[59] This thesis makes a significant contribution to a

[58] The cardinal points of the Compass are: Accuracy, Artistry, Accessibility, Authenticity, Accounting and Integrity.
[59] See *Oh Hi There History*, Appendix 1, 273. *The Needle*, Appendix 2, 274. *Are your z-scores getting encores?* Appendix 3, 322.

growing interdisciplinary field by critically engaging with and making visible the largely invisible process of creative interpretation.

CHAPTER 1 Literature Review

The creative interpretation of history is a vast field of practice and theory. Practitioners develop creative interpretations of history today through mediums as diverse as historical fiction, film and musical theatre right through to video games and escape rooms.[1] The Best New Play and Best New Musical at the 2018 Olivier Awards, Jez Butterworth's *The Ferryman* (2017) and Lin-Manuel Miranda's *Hamilton* (2015), are both creative interpretations of history, as are four of the five nominees for 2018's Golden Man Booker Prize Shortlist and five of the nine films nominated for Best Picture at the 2018 Academy Awards.[2] Within the academic community research into the process and products of creative interpretation is equally diverse and is both multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary. Researchers position their analysis within and between fields that can include heritage studies, film studies, drama and theatre studies, history, digital humanities, dark tourism, adaptation studies, creative writing, comparative literature studies and media studies.

In light of the diversity of approaches to developing and analysing creative interpretations of history I necessarily drew upon a range of different disciplines and bodies of research in contextualising and analysing my own praxis. This literature review will not provide an exhaustive overview of them all. It will instead explain where I have positioned my praxis in this thesis in terms of the specific interdisciplinary contribution it makes, as a practice-based research project drawing a connection between history, heritage studies, drama and

[1] Rijksmuseum, "Rijksmuseum lauches Escape Game," https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/press/press-releases/rijksmuseum-launches-escape-game.

[2] Man Booker Prize, "Golden Man Booker," http://themanbookerprize.com/goldenmanbooker/2018. The Stage, "Olivier Awards 2018: the winners in full," https://www.thestage.co.uk/news/2018/olivier-awards-2018-the-winners-in-full/. Oscars, "Best Picture 2018," http://oscar.go.com/nominees/best-picture.

theatre studies and adaptation studies in order to explore a practitioner perspective on creative interpretation.

The literature review for this research draws upon on a range of fields and perspectives to find points of difference and points of connection. As such, this thesis does not sit comfortably within one particular body of literature but rather travels in a space between disciplines. Some interdisciplinary researchers describe their literature reviews as "monsters" or, perhaps more nobly, "chimeras" – hybrid beasts with recognisable parts drawn from different fields.[3] Others frame their interdisciplinarity through the comforting "pot of soup" metaphor.[4] Instead, to my mind, my interdisciplinary research was a sea journey, sailing between different disciplines, collecting cargo and passengers (at some ports: convicts), and exploring points of comparison and difference. Sometimes I would return to places I had already visited and stay for longer, but even then I did not get to know each land as deeply as I knew the routes between them.

Heritage interpretation

I will first explain my use of the term "creative interpretation," because this term establishes my practice of developing creative outputs as a form of heritage interpretation and thus positions my praxis broadly within heritage studies. This in part stems from my past practice working in a heritage context, developing creative interpretations for museum theatre. Heritage is a broad church, used variously to signify folklore, ancestry and traditions, places, buildings and objects, and the ever-growing heritage industry, described as "the most important single resource for international tourism."[5] David Lowenthal, the

[3] Inga Mewburn, "Is your PhD a monster?," The Thesis Whisperer, https://thesiswhisperer.com/2013/09/11/help-i-think-i-have-created-a-monster/.
[4] Students@LSE, "Being Interdisciplinary with Tinned Tomatoes," Student Life, http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/studentsatlse/2017/01/17/being-interdisciplinary-with-tinned-tomatoes/.
[5] Brian Graham, Gregory John Ashworth, and John E Tunbridge, "The uses and abuses of heritage," in *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, ed. Gerard Corsane (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), 31. Davison, 31.

grandfather of heritage criticism, summarises that "[h]istory explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes."[6] Of course historians too have these present purposes and Lowenthal's binary of history and heritage belies the many influences on and aims for an historian's work.[7] However, the present purposes of heritage are often much more explicit and can include aims relating to tourism and entertainment, building and shaping collective identity, as well as aims to educate and inform about the past.[8] Heritage educates and informs about the past by "clarifying" the past through a process of heritage interpretation.

Interpretation in a heritage context is a term that has shifted markedly over the last century. In the 1950s Tilden Freeman discussed interpretation as a defined and active process that a museum or heritage site might undertake with a clear educational outcome.[9] Some three decades later Peter Vergo's theory of New Museology positioned interpretation as implicit and unavoidable, less of a process and more deeply embedded within the context of collecting and displaying.[10] Since Vergo, heritage interpretation has also been understood through theories of meaning-making and constructivist learning, whereby a visitor brings with them their own experiences and values, creating a lens through which they can interpret an object or place and construct their own unique interpretation.[11]

---

[6] Lowenthal, xv.
[7] Davison, 35. I will discuss some of the influences on an historian's work in *Chapter 3: Convicts, the Past and Archival Historians*
[8] For example see: Laura McAtackney, "Dealing with Difficult Pasts: The Dark Heritage of Political Prisons in Transitional Northern Ireland and South Africa," *Prison Service Journal*, no. 210 (2013). Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge. Graeme Davison, "What should a National Museum do? Learning from the World " in *Memory, Monuments and Museums: The past in the present*, ed. Marilyn Lake (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 2006), 93. Casella and Fredericksen, 102.
[9] Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, Third ed. (USA: University of North Carolina Press, 1957).
[10] Peter Vergo, ed. *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989), 2; Charles Saumarez Smith, "Museums, Artefacts, and Meanings," in *The New Museology*, ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books, 1989), 9.
[11] David Uzzell, "Interpreting our heritage: a theoretical interpretation," in *Contemporary Issues in Heritage & Environmental Interpretation*, ed. David Uzzell

Today's heritage practitioner acknowledges the interpretative power of the audience but also characterises interpretation as an active process undertaken by practitioners to facilitate connections between particular ideas for particular audiences. The Association for Heritage Interpreters describes interpretation today as "a communication process" used to help people "make sense of, and understand more about" a site, event or collection.[12] The International Museum Theatre Alliance (IMTAL) similarly describes interpretation as a "communication process," one that reveals the "significance of a historic/cultural/natural site or museum" to a particular audience, through "interaction with another person, a place, an object or an artefact."[13] Whilst IMTAL focuses specifically on the fields of museum theatre and live interpretation (fields that incorporate theatrical techniques into the interpretation of a site or collection), the Association for Heritage Interpreters suggest heritage interpreters can be anything from "teachers, storytellers, writers [and] artists" to "curators, designers and scientists". They note that the common denominator between all interpreters is that they are "gifted communicators."[14] A heritage interpreter is perhaps then anyone who uses their specific skillset in service to that communication process of packaging the past for a present audience. I would argue that an individual like me who makes sense of and communicates an historical research project for wider audiences is thus also a heritage interpreter.

I have specifically interpreted through and for the mediums of drama and web-series. "Drama" according to Mark Fortier, refers to the "words ascribed to the characters, which in the theatre are spoken by actors." [15] This describes *The Needle* – a drama, or play script, written to be produced and performed as

---

and Ron Ballantyne (UK: The Stationery Office, 1998), 18-19; Tim Copeland, "Constructing Pasts: Interpreting the Historic Environment," in *Heritage Interpretation*, ed. Alison Hems and Marion Blockley (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 83-84.

[12] Association for Heritage Interpretation, "What is Interpretation?," http://www.ahi.org.uk/www/about/what_is_interpretation/.

[13] International Museum Theatre Alliance (IMTAL), "What is Interpretation?," http://imtal-europe.net/what-interpretation.html.

[14] Association for Heritage Interpretation.

[15] Mark Fortier, *Theory / Theatre* (UK: Routledge, 2002), 4.

theatre. As a work of theatre it would entail "not only words but space, actors, props, audience and the complex relations among these elements."[16] *The Needle* is included and discussed in this thesis purely as a play script, rather than as a work of theatre. *Are your z-scores getting encores?* was also developed as a drama, to be performed at a conference rather than for theatre, and is also included in this thesis and primarily discussed as a play script.

Digital media broadly relates to content converted to or developed for digital formats, making it accessible through the use of a computer.[17] *Oh Hi There History* is a web-series, a medium that arose in the mid-1990s in parallel with the rise of the internet as a form of "linear digital media created specifically for web distribution."[18] Web-series are generally distinguished by being short-form, shareable, with "varying degrees of seriality and complexity" and, as a genre today, is characterised as "an experimental space filled with sharp observational humour and insightful explorations into the inconsequential moments of everyday life."[19] *OHTH* was developed first as a kind of scripted drama, which was then performed for camera, filmed, edited and uploaded online as digital video.

In developing interpretations of history for drama and web-series I produce very different outcomes and use very different methods than if I were another kind of interpreter like a teacher, museum curator or scientist. In order to distinguish my particular interpretation practice I have therefore referred to myself as a "creative interpreter" throughout this thesis. This is not to suggest that other fields are not creative, and I do not deny the "creative" and "imaginative

---

[16] Ibid.
[17] Richard Smith, "What is Digital Media?," Centre for Digital Media, https://thecdm.ca/news/what-is-digital-media.
[18] T Leaver, "Joss Whedon, Dr Horrible and the future of web media," *Popular Communication* 11, no. 2 (2013): 161.
[19] Whitney Monaghan, "*Starting From...Now* and the web series to television crossover: an online revolution?," *Media International Australia* 164, no. 1 (2017): 84. S Van Schilt, "How to talk Australians and the rise of the web series," *Kill Your Darlings*, 03 October 2014.

dimensions" of the practice of history itself.[20] Rather, the term "creative" positions my practice of interpretation within the creative arts. I could conflate the vastly different mediums of drama and web-series as being "performance-based," in the sense that they are intended for or realised as live or filmed performance by actors. However, by using the term "creative" I avoid confusing my work with the practice of "performing arts interpreters" or "performance interpreters" who live-interpret performance using sign-language for deaf audience members.[21] Adaptation theorist Frans Weiser uses the term "creative interpretation" as a bridging term to connect discussions about interpretations of the past by theorists from film studies and adaptation studies, whom he finds are largely discussing the subject with the same focus "despite their disciplinary differences."[22] My use of the term "creative interpretation" reflects the fact that I have drawn upon a number of different disciplines to contextualise my praxis and findings.

There is a considerable existing body of research into the use of drama as a form of heritage interpretation. The field of "museum theatre" denotes the "use of theatre and theatrical techniques as a means of mediating knowledge and understanding in the context of museum education."[23] The competing agendas of a museum theatre production have been researched by a number of theorists in evaluating the different ways that audiences engage with them (aesthetic and pedagogic) and the efficacy of museum theatre as an education tool.[24] The role of

---

[20] Griffiths, 130.
[21] Lydia Callis, "Performing Arts Interpreters," LC Interpreting Services, http://www.signlanguagenyc.com/performing-arts-asl-interpreters/.
[22] Frans Weiser, "Contextualizing History-as-Adaptation: An Interdisciplinary Comparison of Historical Revisionism," *Adaptation* (2017): 6.
[23] Catherine Hughes, Anthony Jackson, and Jenny Kidd, "The Role of Theater in Museums and Historic Sites: Visitors, Audiences, and Learners," in *International Handbook of Research in Arts Education*, ed. L Bresler (The Netherlands: Springer, 2007), 680.
[24] Anthony Jackson, "The dialogic and the aesthetic: some reflections on theatre as a learning medium," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 39, no. 4 (2005); Hughes, "Theatre Performance in Museums: Art and Pedagogy." Lynn Baum and Catherine Hughes, "Ten Years of Evaluating Science Theater at the Museum of Science, Boston," *Curator: The Museum Journal* 44, no. 4 (2001); Hughes, "Performance for learning: How emotions play a part."

authenticity as a measure of audience engagement has also been explored widely in a museum theatre context.[25] I have built upon Jenny Kidd's research into audience responses to authenticity in considering how authenticity might be understood and applied by a practitioner.[26]

My past practice in museum theatre contributed to the impetus for this doctoral research. The field of museum theatre specifically relates to theatre being used in the interpretation of sites and artefacts in a heritage context, usually for explicit educational aims. Although it is a highly influential field for my research it does not synchronise directly with my process of creative interpretation in this thesis, which is not site or object-based and does not always pursue overt educational aims. I developed *The Needle* for a theatre context, rather than museum theatre, and its primary aims were not educational.

"Live interpretation," also known as "living history" in North America, is the practice of using performers as historical characters interacting with visitors at a heritage site.[27] The field of live interpretation also has some methodological similarities to my practice, although my creative interpretations in this thesis are neither site-based nor live and interactive. The majority of live interpretation research also comes from a British and North American perspective, focusing on the use of performers at historic houses in the UK[28], or living history sites like

[25] Anthony Jackson and Helen Rees Leahy, "'Seeing it for real...?' - Authenticity, theatre and learning in museums," *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* 10, no. 3 (2005); Jenny Kidd, "Performing the knowing archive: heritage performance and authenticity," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17, no. 1 (2011); Angela Campbell, "Performing Cultural Heritage: Authenticity and the Spirit of Rebellion," *Australasian Drama Studies*, no. 66 (2015); Anne Brædder et al., "Doing Pasts: authenticity from the reenactors' perspective," *Rethinking History* 21, no. 2 (2017); Eric Gable and Richard Handler, "After Authenticity at an American Heritage Site," *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 3 (1996).
[26] Kidd.
[27] Andrew Robertshaw, "Live Interpretation," in *Heritage Interpretation*, ed. Alison Hems and Marion Blockley (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 42.
[28] Magelssen; Ruth Taylor, "The National Trust," in *Heritage Interpretation*, ed. Alison Hems and Marion Blockley (Oxon: Routledge, 2006).

the Plimoth Plantation and Colonial Williamsburg in the United States.[29] The majority of museum theatre studies also focus on the audience reception of museum theatre and methods for audience evaluation in a British and North American context. In 2007 Lynne Adcock and Roy Ballantine undertook a qualitative study on the use of drama as an interpretive tool in Australia and found that despite many experienced professional interpreters using drama as tool there was limited research on its use in an Australian context.[30]

Tasmanian convict heritage interpretation

My analysis of my process of creative interpretation specifically relates to my interpretation of the Founders and Survivors project, a research project focusing on the Tasmanian convict archives and Tasmanian convict history. The practice of live interpretation is not generally used at convict sites. This is in part due to

[29] Plimoth Plantation see: S. E Snow, *Performing the pilgrims: Ethno-historical role-playing at Plimoth Plantation* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993). Anthony Jackson, "Inter-acting with the Past - the use of participatory theatre at museums and heritage sites," *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* 5, no. 2 (2000). W Leon and M Piatt, "Living History Museums," in *History Museums in the United States: A critical assessment*, ed. W Leon and R Rozenzweig (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1989). Hughes, *Museum Theatre: Communicating with Visitors Through Drama*. Jackson and Kidd. Stacy F Roth, *Past into Present: effective techniques for first-person historical interpretation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). Colonial Williamsburg see: Magelssen. Marie Tyler-McGraw, "Becoming Americans Again: Re-Envisioning and Revising Thematic Interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg," *The Public Historian* 20, no. 3 (1998). Edward Ayres, "Colonial Williamsburg's Choosing Revolution Storyline by Colonial Williamsburg," ibid. Hughes, "Performance for learning: How emotions play a part." Eric Gable and Richard Handler, "Public History, Private Memory: Notes from the Ethnography of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, USA," *Ethnos* 65, no. 2 (2000). Jason Stupp, "Slavery and the Theatre of History: Ritual Performance on the Auction Block," *Theatre Journal* 63, no. 1 (2011). See also Wayne Fife, "Penetrating Types: Conflating Modernist and Postmodernist Tourism on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland," *The Journal of American Folklore* 117, no. 464 (2004). Sorensen.

[30] Lynne Adcock and Roy Ballantyne, "Drama as a Tool in Interpretation: Practitioner Perceptions of its Strengths and Limitations," *Australian Journal of Environmental Education* 23 (2007); Lynne Adcock, "Practitioner perceptions of the effectiveness of dramatized interpretaton" (Queensland University of Technology, 2005).

the complexities of representing incarcerated characters and their guards in situ that might put performers and visitors in physically or psychologically unsafe territory, become inappropriately voyeuristic or, conversely, risk heavily sanitising or misrepresenting the convict experience.[31] Similar complexities can be seen in discussions of Colonial Williamsburg's representation of slavery characters and narratives.[32] Museum theatre is a widely used interpretation technique, however, and can be seen regularly as part of interpretation strategies at convict sites like the Hyde Park Barracks, Port Arthur, the Cascade Female Factory and historic houses like Tasmania's Runnymede. I have found no work of academic research to date specifically exploring a practitioner perspective on developing museum theatre based on convict history.

There is a much broader field of research into non-creative arts-based convict heritage interpretation although, unlike my research, this body of literature largely relates to site-specific convict heritage interpretation. David Young's *Making Crime Pay* (1996) tracks the evolution of Tasmania's convict heritage industry, exploring the growth of the convict tourism industry in Tasmania and the way that convict heritage interpretation has shifted over time from its unofficial and heavily myth-saturated roots. Young suggests the most important question should not be which story you tell but "whose," because the stories of "great men" have too long dominated Australian history and heritage interpretation.[33] The punishment site and labour camp of Port Arthur has received the lion's share of critical attention since the end of convict transportation to Tasmania. I will focus my discussion of convict heritage literature on Port Arthur because it is representative of some of the wider shifts within the field.

---

[31] Daniels, 6; Flanagan, 36. Jennifer Turner and Kimberley Peters, "Doing Time-Travel: Performing past and present at the prison museum," in *Historical Geographies of Prisons: Unlocking the Usable Carceral Past*, ed. Karen M Morin and Dominique Moran (Routledge, 2015), 77.
[32] Ayres; Marie Tyler-McGraw, "Becoming Americans Again: Re-Envisioning and Revising Thematic Interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg," ibid. Stupp.
[33] David Young, *Making Crime Pay : the evolution of convict tourism in Tasmania* (Hobart: Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1996), 151.

The 1980s and 90s saw a number of highly critical analyses of interpretation practices at Port Arthur. In 1983 historian Kay Daniels published "Cults of Nature: Cults of History," a scathing critique of Port Arthur's site interpretation, suggesting that whilst Tasmania attempted to "create income and profits" out of its history through heritage interpretation, as a society it was "still uncomfortable with its convict past" and saw its history as "a shameful inheritance," which fundamentally influenced the interpretation at Port Arthur.[34] Daniels was critical of the site's focus at that time on architecture and design rather than people, and its top-down interpretation approach where "[a]ll that is bad, we are told, emanates from the convict. All that is good comes from above."[35] Daniels has also written at length about the interpretation and marginalisation of female convicts at convict sites, thanks to their work in domestic service leaving a fragmented and faint trail of artefacts, sites and documentation.[36]

Port Arthur interpreter Peter Boyer's conference paper, "Chasing rainbows at Port Arthur" (1985), was a defence against Daniels' attacks, with Boyer explaining the very different practices of the historian compared to the heritage site interpreter. Boyer defends the site's conservation policy against Daniels' claims of sanitising, particularly in relation to Port Arthur's neat and polished cottages.[37] In his 1990 article, "Crowbar History," novelist and commentator Richard Flanagan draws on Daniels to aim further strident criticism at Port Arthur's interpretation, describing Tasmania as "autistic towards its past", in being "profoundly shaped by what has taken place yet seemingly unable to hear and speak of such things."[38] Flanagan's article condemns what he frames as a continued top-down interpretation of the site, that does not attempt to get a "sense of what it means to be a convict."[39] In 1996 Port Arthur became the site of

[34] Daniels, 3.
[35] Ibid.
[36] *Convict Women* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1998), 243.
[37] Peter Boyer, "Chasing rainbows at Port Arthur - Tasmania," *Papers and Proceedings: Tasmanian Historical Research Association* 32, no. 2 (1985): 46-48.
[38] Flanagan, 36.
[39] Ibid.

Australia's largest ever incident of gun violence.[40] This was the catalyst for major changes in Australian gun laws and significantly altered Port Arthur visitation practices and site interpretation, as well as discourse about the site.

Since the late 1990s discussion of interpretation at Port Arthur has opened out to focus on exhibitions and displays at the site's Visitor Centre,[41] the natural beauty of the site,[42] interpretation of the cottages and buildings[43] and the memorialisation of the massacre itself.[44] Since the late twentieth century convict heritage research has increasingly broadened to encompass a range of different convict-related sites within Tasmania, including the Cascades Female Factory, Macquarie Harbour, Maria Island, the farms of Woolmers and Brickendon and the Penitentiary Chapel.[45] Convict sites outside of Tasmania that have received widespread critical analysis include the Hyde Park Barracks,[46] Fremantle Prison[47] and Norfolk Island.[48] Casella and Fredericksen's "Legacy of the 'Fatal Shore': The Heritage and Archaeology of Confinement in Post-Colonial Australia" explores the complex relationship between experiences of confinement and a sense of Australian national identity, and the authors suggest that convict

---

[40] David Uzzell and Ron Ballantyne, "Heritage that hurts: interpretation in a postmodern world," in *Contemporary Issues in Heritage and Environmental Interpretation*, ed. David Uzzell and Ron Ballantyne (UK: The Stationery Office, 1998), 160.
[41] Strange. Grace Karskens, "Banished and Reclaimed: Grace Karskens examines representations of Australia's convict Heritage at the Hyde Park Barracks Museum, Sydney," *Meanjin* 60, no. 4 (2001).
[42] Richard Morrison, "The management of a paradox: The archaeology of the Port Arthur landscape," *Historic Environment* 16, no. 3 (2002). Nicola Goc, "From convict prison to the Gothic ruins of tourist attraction," ibid.
[43] Julia Clark, "Talking with empty rooms," ibid.
[44] Richard Mackay, "Port Arthur Historic Site: Inclusive conservation planning at a painful place," ibid.
[45] UNESCO, "Australian Convict Sites," https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1306.
[46] Kate Gregory, "Art and Artifice: Peter Emmett's Curatorial Practice in the Hyde Park Barracks and Museum of Sydney," *Fabrications* 16, no. 1 (2006). Karskens. Mickey Dewar and Clayton Fredericksen, "Prison Heritage, Public History and Archaeology at Fannie Bay Gaol, Northern Australia," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9, no. 1 (2003).
[47] Bob Reece, "Writing about convicts in Western Australia," *Studies in Western Australian History* 24 (2006).
[48] W. S. Logan and Keir Reeves, *Places of pain and shame : Dealing with "difficult heritage"* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009).

punishment sites are disproportionately represented in today's heritage interpretation of convict experience.[49]

Whilst the field of convict heritage interpretation is also primarily site and artefact-based, which this research is not, many of the issues and challenges raised by commentators and interpreters find relevance in my research. I have expanded upon Julia Clark's analysis of "integrity," repurposing it from her application in interpreting historic houses at Port Arthur, to apply it in the development of a creative interpretation.[50] I have similarly repurposed research into choice of perspective (convict or state) and issues relating to the interpretation of crime and punishment from a site interpretation context to a creative interpretation context. In addition to this more traditional understanding of convict heritage interpretation, another way of positioning the practice of convict site and artefact interpretation is through the lens of dark tourism.

Dark Tourism

Dark tourism is a relatively new field, falling in the space between history, heritage studies and tourism studies. The term was coined in 2004 by John Lennon and Malcolm Foley in response to what they perceived as an increased tourist interest in recent death, disaster and atrocity in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.[51] Lennon and Foley saw dark tourism as being related to events within living memory involving global communication methods and an anxiety about modernity, and use the sinking of the Titanic and the assassination of President Kennedy as defining examples.[52] Using Lennon and Foley's definition, Tasmanian convict history and its associated sites and collections do not qualify as dark tourism. However, a number of other theorists have since weighed in on the genre, splitting and expanding the field.

---

[49] Casella and Fredericksen.
[50] Clark, 34.
[51] John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (London: Thomson, 2004), 3.
[52] Ibid.

Philip Stone's "Dark Tourism Spectrum" (2006) builds upon the work of Lennon and Foley and provides a contrasting, broader definition of dark tourism, locating its roots as far back as Roman gladiator battles and including in the field all experiences that contain "a sense of apparent disturbing practices and morbid products (and experiences) within the tourism domain."[53] Stone contrasts with Lennon and Foley in describing the "demand" for dark tourism and develops a spectrum of dark tourism experiences, categorising each area and its relative "darkness," all the way from entertainment-rich Jack the Ripper tours to Holocaust memorial sites.[54] A distinct subsection of dark tourism research focuses on visitation practices and interpretation at Holocaust memorials and concentration camps. Within Stone's spectrum the interpretation of Tasmania's convict past and its associated sites sits alongside other types of penal sites under the category "Dark Dungeons."[55]

The "darkness" of a site is not fixed but rather changes as the meaning of that site changes, which often occurs in relation to the passing of time. Whilst not strictly relating to dark tourism in that it preceded Lennon and Foley's use of the term, David Uzzell and Ron Ballantine's "Heritage that hurts: interpretation in a postmodern world" (1998) discusses the notion of "hot interpretation," a term given to heritage sites by the authors that contain emotional, often divisive narratives, where strong choices must be made in the manner of interpretation.[56] The authors use Port Arthur as an example in relation to interpretation following the massacre. Whilst convict history was no longer "hot" in terms of the distance visitors felt from the content, the massacre had suddenly turned the site "hot". As seen in the criticism by Flanagan and Daniels in the decade before, interpretation at Port Arthur had moved away from representing the site as a place of trauma and violence, which with this event it had suddenly

[53] Philip R Stone, "A dark tourism spectrum: Towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions," *Tourism* 54, no. 2 (2006): 146.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid., 154.
[56] Uzzell and Ballantyne, 160.

become again, and site's interpreters struggled to interpret Port Arthur in the immediate aftermath in light of this shift.

The value of framing my research through dark tourism is that it connects convict heritage interpretation with wider penal heritage interpretation and allows for discussion of some of the uniquely problematic aspects of this practice, including representations of punishment, incarceration, violence and suffering. It also pairs the interpretation of these potentially problematic subjects with tourism trends and economic drivers. Dark tourism theorists suggest that tourists are actively inclined to visit sites associated with "death, suffering and the seemingly macabre" as well as "places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred".[57] This then influences the type of heritage interpretation undertaken at such sites in tailoring interpretation for these audiences.

Crime historian Barry Godfrey notes that heritage interpretation in former prison sites often emphasises the darkness, terror and violence of a prison, rather than the tedium of routine.[58] Godfrey's *Crime in England 1880-1945* (2014) broadly discusses penal interpretation in a dark tourism context, from penal sites being repurposed as hotels through to the growth of cyber dark tourism.[59] Michael Welch analyses convict interpretation at the Hyde Park Barracks in the context of dark tourism by comparing interpretation at the Barracks with Melbourne Gaol and sites in London and Buenos Aires.[60] Strange and Kempa's paper "Shades of Dark Tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island" (2003) discusses the way public assumptions and popular representations of penal sites, in this case Hollywood interpretations of Alcatraz and the history of Al Capone and the widely shared narrative of Nelson Mandela's experiences

[57] Stone, 146.
[58] Barry Godfrey, *Crime in England: 1880 - 1945* (UK: Routledge, 2014), 98.
[59] Ibid.
[60] M. Welch, "Penal tourism and a tale of four cities: Reflecting on the museum effect in London, Sydney, Melbourne, and Buenos Aires," *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 13, no. 5 (2013).

respectively, influence and challenge interpretation at the sites themselves.[61] Stone uses Chris Rojek's term, "files of representation," to describe the external texts that often shape a visitor's understanding of a dark tourism site. These can include films, novels or memoirs.[62] Other dark tourism researchers analysing penal sites as diverse as Long Kesh/Maze and Victoria's Pentridge Prison variously focus on the perspective of interpretation narratives which often favour the administration rather than the incarcerated, the methods used to sanitise or shape narratives, and the propensity to distance past penal experiences from incarceration systems in the present.[63]

The fact that these disparate penal sites, distinctly different in their functions, time periods and cultures, can be discussed in a comparative context through dark tourism, means that the field has much to contribute to research into Tasmanian convict heritage interpretation. In analysing my process of creatively interpreting the Founders and Survivors project I, like a dark tourism researcher, similarly consider the influence that economic factors, audience expectations and other "files of representation" can have on the development of, and potential reception of, my creative interpretations. My thesis makes a new contribution to this field by exploring these common dark tourism concepts from a practitioner-perspective in developing non site-specific creative interpretations.

Adaptation studies

One of the other key contributions this thesis makes is in developing an approach to creative interpretation that combines heritage interpretation with

---

[61] Carolyn Strange and Michael Kempa, "Shades of Dark Tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island," *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 2 (2003).
[62] Stone, 150.
[63] See McAtackney. Jacqueline Z. Wilson, "Dark tourism and the celebrity prisoner: Front and back regions in representations of an Australian historical prison," *Journal of Australian Studies* 28, no. 82 (2004). Kevin Walby and Justin Piché, "The polysemy of punishment memorialization: Dark tourism and Ontario's penal history museums," *Punishment & Society* 13, no. 4 (2011). Jacqueline Z. Wilson, "Representing Pentridge," *Australian Historical Studies* 37, no. 125 (2005). "Australian Prison Tourism: A Question of Narrative Integrity," *History Compass* 9, no. 8 (2011).

adaptation studies. Adaptation studies is a relatively recent field but one that has rapidly expanded over the past few decades. Early adaptation theorists primarily explored the adaptation of literature to screen and focussed on questions of fidelity (is the film like the book), the specificity of film and literature as mediums that resulted in differences in fidelity, and choices about how faithful an adapted text might or should be to its source text.[64] Adaptation studies began to shift as the rise of film studies contributed to the recognition of cinema as art, and as discussions of intertextuality and the social, political and economic influences on adaptation became more pressing concerns than questions of fidelity.

Intertextuality, a term taken up in 1966 by Barthes, Bakhtin and Kristeva, sees a text as "an intersection of textual surfaces" rather than being within the single control of one author, making it a dialogue between the author, the reader and "the contemporary or earlier cultural context."[65] Graham Allan explains this cultural context as a kind of reservoir from which authors draw:

> "Authors of literary works do not just select words from a language system, they select plots, generic features, aspects of character, images, ways of narrating, even phrases and sentences from previous literary texts and from the literary tradition."[66]

Every aspect of a written text can find its roots in a previous text and the cultural context that that text was produced in. This becomes even more complex in a theatre or film context, where the likes of designers, directors and actors all contribute as authors in this process of intertextual layering. Intertextuality can be applied to the development of the text but also its reception, with readers finding reflections and allusions to other texts and making new meanings

[64] See George Bluestone, *Novels into film* (USA: John Hopkins University Press, 1957). Geoffrey Atheling Wagner, *The Novel and the Cinema* (USA: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1975). Michael Klein and Gillian Parker, *The English Novel and the Movies* (USA: Ungar, 1981).
[65] Rainer Emig, "Adaptation in Theory," in *Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation*, ed. Pascal Nicklas and Oliver Lindner (Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 15.
[66] Ibid.

according to the place and time that a text is being received in in relation to their own individual socio-political or cultural identity.

As the field of adaptation studies has developed and expanded over time the default literature-to-screen focus has been replaced by an understanding of the infinite array of mediums, genres and contexts in which adaptation can take place, from literature, film, art, music and theatre to media, cultural studies, sociology and even history.[67] Each genre or medium brings its own theories, research questions and methodologies that can support, enrich and contrast with existing adaptation studies discourse. Adaptation studies, as a discipline, is itself swift to adapt to new ideas. Because of this, adaptation theorist Kamilla Elliot describes adaptation studies as a kind of "Tower of Babel", a field "in which theories multiply and proliferate."[68]

Linda Hutcheon's genre-defining *A Theory of Adaptation* (2006) explains adaptation as both a process and a product and outlines some of the key issues in contemporary adaptation studies in relation to: fidelity criticism, an adaptation having its own integrity separate to its relationship with a source text; knowing and unknowing audiences; adaptations and intertextuality and the way that engagement with adaptations changes over time.[69] In developing my adaptation framework I have applied Hutcheon's theory of adaptation from a practitioner perspective.

Despite the opening up of adaptation studies to explore other mediums, the literature-to-screen discourse has remained a key strand in adaptation studies (though with a broader focus on literature beyond the "literary" and including the novelisation). This can be seen in Brian Macfarlane's *Novel to Film* (2006), Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan's edited collection *Adaptation: From Text to Screen and Screen to Text* (1999) and Christine Geraghty's *Now a Major*

[67] Kamilla Elliott, "Doing Adaptation: The Adaptation as Critic," in *Teaching Adaptations*, ed. Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 71; Corrigan, 29.
[68] Elliott, 71.
[69] Hutcheon.

Motion Picture: Film Adaptations of Literature and Drama (2008).[70] Cartmell and Whelehan's edited *Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen* (2007) provides a survey of the literature and screen relationship through a multidisciplinary approach, exploring the connection between literature, film and heritage.[71] They include the practitioner-perspective of adapter Andrew Davies who discusses aspects of his process in adapting Dickens and Austen for screen.[72] Their *Screen Adaptations: Impure Cinema* (2010) revisits the literature-to-screen relationship in light of the changing approach to fidelity in adaptation studies.[73]

The notion of adaptation as a process undertaken by adaptors is often absent from critical analysis in adaptation studies. David Kranz and Nancy Mellerski's *In/Fidelity: Essays on Film Adaptation* (2008) is relatively unique in including the practitioner perspective of Robin Swicord in the chapter "Under the Skin: Adapting Novels for the Screen", examining Swicord's process adapting for film *Little Women* (1994) and *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2006).[74] Cartmell and Whelehan's edited collection *Teaching Adaptations* (2014) covers diverse territory in relation to how adaptation studies have been taught over time, both as a separate field of study and in relation to literature or media studies. Of particular note is Jamie Sherry's chapter, "Teaching Adapting Screenwriters: Adaptation Theory through Creative Practice," which examines the development of a

[70] Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan, *Adaptations: From Text to Screen, Screen to Text* (Oxford: Routledge, 1999). Christine Geraghty, *Now a Major Motion Picture: Film Adaptations of Literature and Drama* (UK: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008). Brian Macfarlane, *Novel to Film: An Introduction to the Theory of Adaptation* (USA: Oxford University Press, 1996).
[71] Eckart Voigts-Virchow, "Heritage and literature on screen," in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, ed. Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
[72] Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan, "A practical understanding of literature on screen: two conversations with Andrew Davies," ibid.
[73] *Screen Adaptations: Impure Cinema* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
[74] Robin Swicord, "Under the Skin: Adapting Novels for the Screen," in *In/Fidelity: Essays on Film Adaptation*, ed. David L Kranz and Nancy C Mellerski (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008).

screenplay as both an adapted text and a text to be adapted.[75] By exploring a practitioner perspective on adaptation studies this thesis makes a considerable contribution to a relatively under-researched aspect of the field.

Recent literature in adaptation studies is characterised by the field's self-consciousness about its rapid sense of change by both embracing new ways of applying adaptation studies as well as revisiting older concepts. Thomas Leitch's edited *Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies* (2017) brings together a wealth of adaptation studies theorists who collectively re-evaluate and reconsider the field as a whole in light of its evolution over the past twenty years.[76] Bruhn, Gjelsvik, and Hanssen's edited collection *Adaptation Studies: New Challenges, New Directions* (2013) outlines some of the contemporary issues being explored by adaptation studies' theorists including revisiting an understanding of fidelity in relation to medium specificity.[77] Of particular note is Sara Brinch's chapter, "Tracing the originals, pursuing the past: *Invictus* and the 'based-on-a-true-story' film as adaptation," which explores the adaptation of biographical materials and photographs.

There is a growing body of adaptation theory relating to the relationship between adaptation and history. Laurence Raw and Defne Ersin Tutan's 2013 collection of essays, *The Adaptation of History*, explores different perspectives on the adaptation of specific works of historical research, the past and the layering of palimpsests of history and other texts within an adaptation.[78] However, none of these essays analyses the process of adapting historical research from a practitioner perspective. Thomas Leitch builds upon Raw and Tutan in his chapter "History as Adaptation" (2015), which suggests that historians

---

[75] Jamie Sherry, "Teaching Adapting Screenwriters: Adaptation Theory through Creative Practice," in *Teaching Adaptations*, ed. Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
[76] Thomas Leitch, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies* (USA: Oxford University Press, 2017).
[77] Jorgen Bruhn, Anne Gjelsvik, and Eirik Frisvold Hanssen, eds., *Adaptation Studies: New Challenges, New Directions* (UK: Bloomsbury, 2013).
[78] Laurence Raw and Defne Ersin Tutan, eds., *The Adaptation of History* (US: McFarland, 2012).

undertake a process of adaptation in analysing sources and writing history, thus adapting previous documentation about the past.[79] I adapt and build upon Leitch's proposal that a strict sense of fidelity is not a natural or productive aspect of the historian's practice ("no one praises a new history for being exactly like older histories") and draw a connection between the interpretative nature of fidelity in an adaptation context and the interpretative nature of accuracy for the historian.[80]

Frans Weiser's article, "Contextualising History-as-Adaptation: An Interdisciplinary Comparison of Historical Revision" (2017), builds upon Tutan, Raw and Leitch's analysis to contextualise it within wider shifts about the identity of history as a discipline.[81] Weiser draws parallels between Hutcheon's theory of adaptation and film theorist Robert Rosenstone's analysis of history on film, connecting Hutcheon's discussion of fidelity discourse to Rosenstone's critique of expectations that films should reproduce literary history.[82] My application of fidelity as a means of measuring archival accuracy extends Weiser's discussion of theory into a practitioner context and similarly draws upon those wider shifts that suggest critique should extend beyond fidelity to examine the socio-cultural, industrial or economic contexts an adaptation is made in. By combining adaptation theory with theories drawn from dark tourism and heritage interpretation and exploring this intersection *through practice* I make a significant new contribution to the fields of heritage interpretation, dark tourism and adaptation studies.

Practitioner perspectives

In a theatre context there is a wealth of literature relating to the reception and analysis of plays that are adaptations of history. Shakespeare's history plays have

[79] Thomas Leitch, "History as Adaptation," in *The Politics of Adaptation*, ed. Dan Hassler-Forest and Pascal Nicklas (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
[80] Ibid., 14.
[81] Weiser.
[82] Ibid., 6.

been researched at length, analysing amongst other things their connection to the historical record and findings by historians and their role as tools for the representation of national identity both historically and today.[83] In terms of the actual process of writing plays based upon or adapting history, playwrights themselves often discuss their methods or choices in interviews and written introductions to play scripts.[84] Jonathan Croall's *Buzz Buzz: Playwrights, Actors and Directors at the National Theatre* (2008) includes a number of in-depth interviews with playwrights, many of whom discuss their approach to historical research in writing plays or their approaches in adapting existing texts, usually novels, for theatre.[85] Although many playwrights provide detailed commentary on their individual methods in interviews and in their own writing, this is different to the type of methodological discussion that characterises practice-based research where individual methods are critically examined and contextualised within wider professional practice.

In an Australian context this kind of detailed commentary can be seen in the adaptation of Kate Grenville's convict history-based novel *The Secret River* for stage by playwright Andrew Bovell.[86] Convict history has provided fodder for Australian playwrights throughout the twentieth century, but whilst there are a great many plays based on convict history there is relatively little methodological discussion about the process of writing them, and none about

---

[83] Jonathan Bate and Dora Thornton, *Shakespeare: Staging the World* (UK: British Museum Press, 2012).
[84] For example see Rona Munro, Laurie Sansom, and Al Senter, *National Theatre: Podcasts*, podcast audio, Rona Munro and Laurie Sansom on The James Plays 2014. Tom Stoppard, *The Coast of Utopia*, revised ed. (US: Grove Press, 2007), xi-xiv. Frayn, 95-151.
[85] Jonathan Croall, *Buzz Buzz! Playwrights, ACtors and Directors at the National Theatre* (UK: Methuen Drama, 2008).
[86] Rosemary Neill, "Stage adaptation of Grenville's Secret River shows audiences the blood on the banks," *The Australian*, 22 December 2012. Currency Press, *The Secret River - Andrew Bovell*, podcast audio, Not In Print 2014. Andrew Bovell, "National Play Festival Keynote Address," in *National Play Festival* (Carriageworks NSW: Playwriting Australia, 2014). See also Catherine Love, "Keep it moving: Jeremy Herrin on staging Hilary Mantel's Tudor epics," *The Guardian*, 25 April 2014.

writing plays based on digital or quantitative history.[87] As such, these creative texts are valuable in showcasing the diversity of content and form choices available to a practitioner and can be analysed in a reception context, but are limited in the insight they provide about practitioner intentions and methods.

From a theory perspective (as opposed to a practitioner perspective) drama theorist Freddie Rokem explores issues of time, performers, testimony and violence in his seminal text, *Performing History: Theatrical Representations of the Past in Contemporary Theatre* (2000), which discusses Shoah theatre and representations of the French Revolution, primarily in a reception context.[88] Rebecca Schneider's *Theatre & History* (2014) similarly unravels the complexities of time travel, fact and fiction and violence in theatre based on history.[89]

There is currently limited research into the creative interpretation of history for web-series although it is a growing practice, as seen in the development of web-series like *Drunk History* (2013 –), *Ask a Slave* (2013), *Period Piece* (2016) and the recent Australian convict history comedy web-series *Bruce* (2016). History on film and television has been widely researched, although the mediums are markedly different from web-series, and research comes predominantly from a reception perspective rather than a practitioner perspective.[90] Robert Rosenstone provides a relatively unique perspective with his analysis of history on film being shaped by his own experience as an historical consultant for film.[91] In an Australian convict history context, detailed commentary can be found on

---

[87] Examples of Australian plays based on convict history include Richard Davey's *The Ship That Never Was* (2011), Julian Halls' *Port Arthur* (1998), Stella Kent's *Conviction* (2008), Humphrey Bower's *Natural Life* (1998), Andrew Bovell's *The Secret River* (2013), Alana Valentine's *Ratticus and Reidar* (2008) and Nick Enright's *The Female Factory* (1997).

[88] Rokem.

[89] Rebecca Schneider, *Theatre & History* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[90] See Marnie Hughes-Warrington, ed. *The History on Film Reader* (UK: Routledge, 2009). Jerome de Groot, *Remaking History: The past in contemporary historical fictions* (UK: Routledge, 2016); *Consuming History*.

[91] Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History*; *History on Film/Film on History*, 2nd edition ed. (UK: Routledge, 2012).

the reception of historical documentaries and television drama that represent convict experiences. Analysis primarily critiques the extent to which these creative interpretations accurately reflect the findings of historians and the interpretation of Indigenous perspectives.[92]

Communicating history

Jerome de Groot provides an overview of the methods for packaging history for diverse audiences through creative outputs including theatre, film, television and historical fiction in *Consuming History* (2009).[93] By comparing and contrasting significantly different mediums, methods and types of audience engagement, de Groot maps out an ecosystem of historical interpretation and public consumption of history. Although he discusses the unique characteristics of specific mediums, genres, practitioners and texts, there are evidently common themes and challenges in the consumption of history that reappear across a diversity of mediums. This thesis builds upon de Groot's approach in *Consuming History* by positioning my praxis within a wider interdisciplinary framework of creative interpretation. In doing so I have drawn upon practitioner approaches from mediums other than drama and web-series, such as historical fiction and heritage site interpretation, in order to contextualise and analyse my praxis.

De Groot's follow-up text, *Remaking History* (2016), casts historical film, television and fiction as "historical fictions" that are representations of the past but are not history.[94] In *Remaking History* his analysis is shaped by thematic connections between creative interpretations in how they engage with the past. For example, analysing the use of zombies and the "undead" as a trope in

[92] Ruth Balint, "Soft Histories: Making history on Australian television," *History Australia* 8, no. 1 (2011); Anne-Maree Whitaker, "Rogue History?," *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 11 (2009); Tim Masters, "Banished: Jimmy McGovern tells story of first British convicts in Australia," *BBC News*, 04 March 2015; Katherine Foxhall, "Why there are calls to boycott a BBC drama about the first convicts to colonise Australia," *The Conversation*, 12 March 2015. Daina Reid, "The Secret River," (Australia: Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2015).
[93] de Groot, *Consuming History*.
[94] *Remaking History: The past in contemporary historical fictions*.

creative interpretations of history across mediums.[95] By analysing a diverse range of these "historical fictions" de Groot is able to draw connections between methods of representation and their reception across and between mediums. Rather than framing the interpretation of history primarily as an educational tool, as the fields of museum theatre and live interpretation do, de Groot's analytical approach considers a broader scope of agendas and aims. My analysis of my process of creative interpretation from a practitioner perspective is positioned most comfortably within this kind of broader focus. By analysing my processes across different mediums this thesis mirrors de Groot's approach in comparing and contrasting how different kinds of creative interpretation engage with the past, at times highlighting points of similarity and difference with the practice of history itself.

Peter Beck undertakes a similar scale of analysis in *Presenting History: Past & Present* (2012), this time looking at a diversity of approaches from the perspective of practitioners, with a particular focus on historians themselves.[96] Beck's analysis focuses on individual practitioners, rather than mediums, texts or themes, and considers in detail the likes of Simon Schama in his approach to history on television, Terry Deary in his development of the *Horrible Histories* series (1993-2013) or Philippa Gregory in her process writing historical fiction. Beck's approach, like de Groot's, does not frame the interpretation process primarily through its educational aims. Instead, he explores the different aims various practitioners can have in "presenting" history and how their methods of communication subsequently differ from the practice of archival history. *Presenting History* frames history in terms of how it is practised by historians but also engages deeply and respectfully with the interpretative and creative methods that practitioners use when they present history to non-historian audiences. This thesis can similarly be positioned comfortably alongside Beck's analysis in considering how my own creative methods are positioned in relation to the methods of the archival historian.

[95] Ibid., 124.
[96] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*.

One of the distinctions between this thesis and the majority of practitioner perspectives or analyses of creative interpretations found in the fields of drama and theatre studies, film and television studies and adaptation studies, is that I have framed my practice with an understanding of history that mirrors an historian's. There is a vast body of research relating to academic historians discussing and critiquing the process of researching and writing history and I have explored this field at length in *Chapter 3 Convicts, The Past and Archival Historians*.[97]

There is a growing body of literature analysing the specific challenges related to making history in the digital age. Richard Deswarte's "Growing the 'Faith in Numbers': Quantitative Digital Resources and Historical Research in the Twenty-First Century" (2010) outlines some of the advantages of using digital resources for historians and some of the issues associated with the initial creation of digital resources, including the necessity to replicate the original source in its entirety, the importance of accurate and comprehensive metadata and the need for accurate searchability within a database.[98] Tim Hitchcock's paper, "Confronting the Digital" (2013), similarly discusses the creation of digital resources, outlining a number of ways that the structure and design of digital archival resources might be problematic for historians who use these resources – particularly in relation to searchability and inaccurate metadata. Hitchcock suggests that historians have not paid close enough attention during the formative years of digital resource development, resulting in digital resources and digital presentation formats like e-books that do not adequately support the practice of history.[99] Andrew Prescott's "I'd rather be a librarian" (2014) echoes many of Hitchcock's concerns about the way the creation of digital resources, a process highly shaped by economic and logistical influences, shapes the meanings that might be made from these resources.[100] Prescott explores how the digital

[97] For example: Carr. Tosh and Lang. Gilderhus. Griffiths.
[98] Richard Deswarte, "Growing the 'Faith in Numbers': Quantitative Digital Resources and Historical Research in the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 15, no. 2 (2010).
[99] Hitchcock.
[100] Andrew Prescott, "I'd Rather be a Librarian," ibid.11, no. 3 (2014).

revolution can be seen as part of a continuation of innovation in archival practices for the librarian, in contrast to the relatively sudden shift it represents for the historian. Mark Knights also responds to Hitchcock in "The Implications of Social Media" (2014), expanding upon Hitchcock's ideas to discuss the benefits of working in Virtual Research Environments, some of the shifts in history teaching practices, and the ability for the digital to engage with audiences beyond the academy through volunteers and crowd-sourcing.[101]

Barry Godfrey's chapter, "Historical and Archival Research Methods" (2012), focuses not on the creation of digital sources but on their analysis by historians, suggesting that crime historians rarely provide detailed methodological discussions in their publications, relying instead upon an implicit understanding within their field. Godfrey outlines some of the methodologies and sources used by crime historians pre and post-1990, exploring how electronic databases are used today by historians and some of the methodological opportunities and issues that can subsequently arise, focusing on research on crime in eighteenth-twentieth centuries England.[102] Some of these problematic issues are discussed in "Reconstructing Prison Lives: Criminal Lives in the Digital Age" (2013) in relation to a case study about a nineteenth-century female prisoner.[103] Godfrey's 2014 book, *Crime in England 1880-1945*, expands upon not just how historians' methodologies are changing with the advent of electronic resources but also what new ethical issues and opportunities for collaboration with the heritage sector they face as a result.[104] Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker's "Making History Online" (2015) investigates the changing public access to digital resources and the opportunities presented by the digital for historians' engagement with the public.[105] My research builds upon these issues raised by historians about their own practice by applying these ethical and methodological issues in a creative interpretation context.

---

[101] Mark Knights, "The Implications of Social Media," ibid.
[102] Godfrey, "Historical and Archival Research Methods."
[103] Helen Johnston et al., "Reconstructing Prison Lifes: Criminal Lives in the Digital Age," *Prison Service Journal*, no. 210 (2013).
[104] Godfrey, *Crime in England: 1880 - 1945*.
[105] Hitchcock and Shoemaker.

There is a wide body of literature relating to historians' engagement with the public and analysing the public's relationship with history, generally referred to as the field of public history. The Australian Centre for Public History describes the focus of public history in analysing "how histories are made and interpreted in the broader community" including through museum and heritage sites and digital media.[106] The United States' National Council of Public History similarly describes the field broadly as "the many and diverse ways in which history is put to work in the world" and includes as "public historians" museum professionals, archivists, and film and media producers.[107] There is clearly substantial crossover between the analysis and practice of public historians and the analysis of practitioners who undertake heritage interpretation or develop digital media interpretations of history. Public history is a growing field, pushing at the boundaries of history as a discipline and finding ways to engage wider audiences with the processes as well as the findings of historians.[108]

Whilst my research draws heavily on theory and practice that might be categorised as public history, and I have investigated ways of interpreting the processes as well as findings of the Founders and Survivors project, I have not explicitly framed my own praxis as public history in this thesis. Although public history is a broad field, few within it would open the gates wide enough to accommodate the full spectrum of creative methods that make up my praxis. The value of positioning my research through heritage, rather than public history, is that it establishes that my praxis has a relationship to the past and the practice of history, a relationship that I critically engage with in thesis, but is not itself history.

---

[106] Australian Centre for Public History, "What is Public History," University of Technology Sydney, https://www.uts.edu.au/research-and-teaching/our-research/australian-centre-public-history/about-acph/what-public-history.
[107] National Council on Public History, "How do we define public history?," http://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/.
[108] Gable and Handler, "Public History, Private Memory: Notes from the Ethnography of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, USA."; Dewar and Fredericksen; Hitchcock and Shoemaker.

I framed this literature review at the outset as a sea journey, charting a course between a diversity of disciplines. My decision to position this thesis through heritage, rather than the field of public history, indicates the particular route that I have taken to contextualise and support my praxis. This route has been informed by the specific creative methods I use as a practitioner and the methodological questions that had arisen in my past practice that presaged this research.

CHAPTER 2 Methodology

This thesis investigates a series of research questions that emerged out of my creative practice and in consultation with the wider literature. All of these questions are methodological, relating to *how* I develop creative interpretations of history. In order to answer these questions I needed to design a research strategy that would allow me to research my own creative methods. However, I quickly found that there are no existing quantitative or qualitative research frameworks that could guide this process.

This is not an uncommon experience and many creative practitioners find that traditional research paradigms are unable to accommodate the "complexity, uncertainty, instability, uniqueness" and even "value conflicts" within their creative practice. [1] In light of this, practitioners within fields like the creative arts have developed and established a third kind of research strategy that can sit more comfortably with the needs of their practice: practice-based research. Brad Haseman describes practice-based research as "claiming a third space" between qualitative and quantitative research.[2] The multifaceted and unique character of individual creative practices – the uniqueness that renders quantitative and qualitative research frameworks inappropriate – means that practice-based research is not a strategy that can be found and applied wholesale but rather must be flexible to the needs of each practitioner's own creative practice and their research needs.

[1] Donald A Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner: How professionals think in action* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 14.
[2] Brad Haseman, "Rupture and recognition: identifying the performative research paradigm," in *Practice As Research: Approaches to Creative Arts Enquiry*, ed. Estelle Barrett and Barbara Bolt (London, UK: I.B. Taurus, 2007), 16.

Practice-based research

Practice-based research is a term often used interchangeably with "practice-led research," "creative practice as research," "studio practice as research" or "performative research."[3] Carole Gray defines practice-*led* research as "research which is initiated in practice, where questions, problems, challenges are identified and formed by the needs of practice and practitioners" and following this the research strategy is then "carried out through practice."[4] Linda Candy makes a distinction between practice-*based* and practice-*led* research in relation to the creation of "artefacts."[5] In this context the term "artefact" is used to denote "an object, installation, exhibition or performance, in any given creative field, that is made by the practitioner during the research."[6] For the practice-*based* researcher "making an artefact is pivotal" and the insights gleaned from "making, reflecting and evaluating" can then be "fed back directly into the artefact itself." [7] In contrast, practice-*led* research, according to Candy's distinction, "does not depend upon the creation of an artefact" and although the research is still grounded in practice it might instead focus on "the evolution of new practices in a given field or organization."[8]

In meeting Gray's definition of "practice-led" research my doctoral research was initiated through questions I had identified in practice that could only be broached by a research strategy carried out through practice. However, in drawing on Candy, I have chosen to define my research as "practice-based" throughout this thesis because the development of an "artefact," notably a play script, is pivotal to my practice, and thus pivotal to my research.

---

[3] "Tightrope Writing: Creative Writing Programs in the RQF Environment," *TEXT* 11, no. 1 (2007).
[4] Gray in ibid., 4.
[5] Linda Candy, "Research and Creative Practice," in *Interacting: Art, Research and the Creative Practitioner*, ed. L Candy and E.A Edmonds (Faringdon, UK: Libri Publishing Ltd, 2011), 35.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., 36.

By establishing my research strategy as "practice-based" I am engaging with wider theory and applying it to my practice. A practitioner-researcher like myself must, in the words of Helen Yeates, "build creatively transformative bridges between the so-called two worlds of practice and theory."[9] Yeates' qualifier of "so-called" reflects the fact that, for the practitioner-researcher, practice and theory are in fact not separate worlds but rather weave together in the form of "praxis," with both theory and practice uniting together in action.[10] A practitioner's research methodology becomes part of their practice and at the same time their practice becomes part of their research methodology; there is no clear-cut distinction between theory and practice.

Practitioner-researcher Bree Hadley uses the metaphor of a Möbius strip to describe her research strategy where "[i]n static terms, ideas have flown into practices then back into ideas."[11] Practitioner-researcher Robyn Stewart echoes this in that the theoretical outcomes of practice-based research are "located in, emerge from and inform the practice" meaning that "theory and practice become synonymous" when they are united together in research.[12] Stewart uses the metaphor of theory and practice as being "like the warp and weft of a tapestry" where the tapestry itself is the research.[13] For Hadley, following a Möbius strip means following a process of "folding, unfolding, doubling and duplicating" where, perhaps unlike the identifiable warp and weft of a tapestry, there is a constant but "productive indeterminacy between idea and thing, knowledge and practice" rendering them unidentifiable as separate entities.[14] Hadley's Möbius strip proved a useful metaphor for my understanding of praxis. Rather than undertaking distinctly separate tasks of theory and practice I engaged deeply

---

[9] Helen L Yeates, "Embedded engagements: the challenge of creative practice research to the humanities," *The International Journal of the Humanities* 7, no. 1 (2009): 139.
[10] Jenny Hughes, Jenny Kidd, and Catherine McNamara, "The Usefulness of Mess: Artistry, Improvisation and Decomposition in the Practice of Research in Applied Theatre," in *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance*, ed. Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 193.
[11] Hadley, 11.
[12] Stewart.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Hadley, 11. Stewart.

with both simultaneously.

Theory and practice are thus "inextricably linked and mutually dependent", and in this way the practice in practice-based research is not just used for "reconfirming, reducing or demonstrating" theory, but rather "productively engages" with ideas through "knowledge in action."[15] This means that discussion of my practice and my "artefacts" is not incorporated into this thesis merely to demonstrate my research or confirm my findings. Rather, undertaking my practice of creative interpretation was how I undertook my research, and my "artefacts" – the two play scripts and the web-series – make up part of my findings along with the discursive findings in this thesis.

Although it occupies a distinctly different third space compared to quantitative or qualitative research, practice-based research still "conforms to the broad protocols of all research" in order to meet shared "credibility tests" within the research community.[16] Brad Haseman highlights five requirements for the practitioner-researcher in developing a credible research project so that it might conform to wider research norms. These include:

- contextualizing the research within a field of enquiry
- making a contribution
- exposing the research to peer review
- establishing a clearly defined "problem," and
- working with a "convincing" and "transparent" methodology.[17]

Contextualising research can mean including social or cultural context, as well as instructing a peer on "how to look and listen" to judge the research's contribution to knowledge, a directive which cannot be found in an artefact or

[15] Hadley, 12.
[16] Haseman, "Tightrope Writing: Creative Writing Programs in the RQF Environment."
[17] Ibid.

artwork alone.[18] Therefore a thesis, or in some cases an exegesis, serves to contextualize the research.

Haseman recommends that a practice-based research project must establish a clearly defined "problem." I identified a number of methodological "problems" in my practice and, in consultation with the wider literature, shaped these into a series of clearly defined research questions. This doctoral research has then been designed to answer these questions:

1. What is the relationship between archival history and creative interpretation in my praxis?
2. How do I navigate the tension between "historical accuracy" and "artistic integrity" in my praxis?
3. What role does "authenticity" play in my praxis?
4. What are my ethical obligations as a creative interpreter?

In addressing Haseman's final criterion, I have only been able to approach these problems through research by working with a "convincing" and "transparent" methodology. A practice-based researcher's methodology is defined by their particular practice, because, in returning to Gray's earlier definition, practice-based research must be "carried out through practice."[19] This "gives important power" to practitioner-researchers, because it privileges the practitioner's own methods and their perspectives on those methods as being integral to the research.[20]

It is not enough, however, for a practitioner to rely solely upon their own existing methods because, for a methodology to be "convincing" and "transparent," a practitioner "needs to be explicit in identifying their existing methods of practice."[21] According to Haseman, a practitioner may also have to

[18] Candy, 56.
[19] Haseman, "Tightrope Writing: Creative Writing Programs in the RQF Environment."
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.

"discipline" or refine their methods in some way if they are to function as research.[22] Robyn Stewart suggests practitioners also need to "have the confidence" to connect personal methods with wider research methodologies.[23] Following Stewart, the process of "creating descriptions and explanations for what we do as artists" provides "evidence to support our claims about our practice" and thus also evidence to support research findings.[24]

I needed to develop a methodology that could both support my existing methods of creative interpretation but that could also accommodate disciplined analysis of and potential alterations to those methods in order to answer my research questions. For this methodology to be convincing and transparent it had to be explicitly identifiable and able to be contextualized within wider professional practice.

Reflective practice

I have framed my overarching methodology as one of "reflective practice." Reflective practice is widely used in practice-based research as well as some qualitative fields and was first proposed by Donald Schön as "reflection-in-action," a process of "taking action in order to understand how to change a given situation from which the insights derived may be used to make improvements."[25] Linda Candy describes reflective practice as "a process of reflecting on one's own actions and learning how to act differently as a result."[26] In my case this means reflecting and providing feedback for myself on my own methods and then altering them accordingly. Reflective practice "validates [the] intuitive instincts" of a practitioner by relying upon practitioner knowledge, rather than empirical

[22] Ibid.
[23] Stewart.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Schon in Candy, 43.
[26] Ibid.

technical assessment.[27] Because of this it is completely adaptable to an individual practitioner's own practice and knowledge-base.

My application of a reflective practice strategy has been informed by a wider phenomenological approach in my research. Broadly speaking, phenomenology is "not concerned with the world as it exists in itself" in being measured by particular verifiable measures but instead "with how the world appears (as phenomena) to the humans who encounter it."[28] By using a phenomenological approach I discuss my praxis in part through an engagement with my individual sense of "meaning and feeling" in relation to the development of my creative interpretations as well as in my engagement with wider literature, professional practice and historical sources.[29] I have also been aware of how I "think and act" in response to those meanings and feelings, and considered my "intention" in my praxis as well as my perception of how my praxis might be received.[30]

These understandings of my praxis are particular to my perception, but through a phenomenological lens "perception and object become synonymous".[31] How I feel about my praxis and my experience of it – gleaned through my process of self-reflection and demonstrated through my reflective writing – become synonymous with my praxis itself. Despite being based upon evidence that is "mediated, provisional and revisable", my reflections on praxis exist as a kind of "truth."[32] This is valuable because, unlike for a quantitative research project where a researcher can maintain a distance from what they are studying, as a practice-based researcher I am "in the thick of the action, not only observing but also participating in the object of study".[33] A phenomenological approach acknowledges that my personal positioning within the research and the

[27] Ibid.
[28] Fortier, 38.
[29] Bert O. States, "The Phenomological Atittude," in *Critical Theory and Performance*, ed. Joseph R. Roach and Janelle G. Reinelt (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 27.
[30] Fortier, 39. ibid., 41.
[31] States, 35.
[32] Fortier, 43.
[33] Haseman, "Tightrope Writing: Creative Writing Programs in the RQF Environment."

particular perception I have of it can provide legitimate, valuable and unique insights into the research itself.

The reflective practitioner undergoes a basic process of "creating -> reflecting-> creating again-> reflecting again." [34] Adapting reflective practice to a practitioner's own research needs might mean adding in different steps and any number of iterations of those steps. My reflective practice strategy followed the "creating->reflecting" pattern. The specific steps of my "creating" process included "gathering" and "writing." As a reflective practice strategy it reads:

> gathering > reflecting > writing > reflecting > gathering again > reflecting > writing again > reflecting …

For *Are your z-scores getting encores?* there were two final stages of "rehearsing" and "performing" and for *Oh Hi There History (OHTH)* I cycled through "rehearsing," "performing," "filming" and "editing." Thanks to that regular step of "reflecting" my practice was flexible to questions, challenges and obstacles that I faced along the way, and during each stage of refection I actively engaged with my research questions to determine how I might alter my praxis in order to answer them. This process of reflection was also supported by feedback from my supervision team.

Research strategies in the sciences require a similar process of trial and error in seeking answers to a research question and the quantitative historian must also always reflect upon each round of results before redesigning their next analysis. Rather than proving a shared theory or establishing a positive/negative result, my research questions are both deliberately open-ended ("what is the relationship…") and personal ("how do *I* negotiate…"). There can be no single, correct answer to them, and the answers I do develop are inherently tied to my own praxis. However, this again is similar to the approach taken by quantitative historians in that, despite often producing a positive/negative result their

[34] Candy, 46.

findings are always framed as being interpretative and inherently tied to particular data and methods of analysis.

The key difference here is that the "answers" my creative practice seeks to elucidate are not quantifiable or measurable by any seemingly empirical or established technical criteria. The methods I have used to develop these answers and the criteria I employed in reflecting throughout my research are so individualised to my creative practice that, unlike an historian's methods, they are neither externally testable nor comprehensively traceable. Another practitioner re-running the research will never reach the same result. Despite this, my methods are contextualized and developed so as to be convincing and transparent and this is a key requirement in legitimizing my practice-based research *as* research.

Gathering

The first stage of my creative interpretation practice is what I call "gathering". Gathering involves reading widely in the field and engaging in as many different ways as I can with the topic so as to develop a comprehensive understanding of content. I began by reading the work of the Founders and Survivors project researchers and familiarising myself with the wider canon of Tasmanian convict history. I visited Tasmanian convict heritage sites including the secondary punishment sites of Port Arthur and the Cascades Female Factory, the convict accommodation and judicial site of the Penitentiary Chapel and Woolmers Estate, a private farm property that housed assigned convicts.

I engaged with existing creative interpretations of Tasmanian and Australian convict history, including reading Marcus Clarke's adventure classic *For The Term of His Natural Life* (1874) and Richard Flanagan's novel *Gould's Book of Fish* (2001), watching films such as Jonathan auf der Heide's *Van Diemen's Land* (2009) and Brendan Cowell's *The Outlaw Michael Howe* (2013), and reading plays based on convict history including Richard Davey's *The Ship that Never*

Was (1994), Nick Enright's *Female Factory* (1997) and Alana Valentine's *Ratticus and Reidar* (2008). I went to the theatre to see productions including Louis Nowra's *The Golden Age* (1985) produced by Sydney Theatre Company (2016), as well as the 2016 remount of their production of *The Secret River* (2013), adapted by playwright Andrew Bovell from Kate Grenville's novel. I engaged with these creative interpretations in order to build a broad understanding of not just what historians have written about the convict period and how this has changed over time, but also to understand how convict history has been popularly represented and how this might juxtapose with the findings of historians. By visiting galleries like Hobart's Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery and Launceston's Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery I was also able to engage with artists who were practising during the convict era.

For much of this gathering I worked as an historian would, gathering data and comparing different accounts or perspectives on a particular experience or event. However, I also drew on those phenomenological methods not utilised by the historian. I would consider how I felt about particular sites, experiences, or texts, the emotions that they stirred in me, and the ideas they might spark for my own creative practice. This is why I term this stage "gathering" and not "researching," to acknowledge those other emotional or experiential research tools at my disposal that differ from traditional research methods.

During the gathering stage I also read the wider academic literature relating to fields that included heritage interpretation, adaptation studies, dark tourism or film studies. In my past practice the gathering stage was my first stage in the development of a creative interpretation. Now, in undertaking practice-based research, I was gathering simultaneously for both the development of my creative interpretations and as part of my research methodology in approaching my research questions. The two aims were inextricably linked and indistinguishable from one other. In this way I was repurposing and altering the key methods from my past practice to support my praxis.

Working within a reflective practice strategy meant that I undertook multiple iterations of each step during my research, including the gathering process. At different points I would reflect and decide upon a new course of regathering. This either meant turning my gathering in a new direction or returning to sources I had already engaged with to revisit them with fresh eyes and a new cumulative understanding. The cumulative nature of my praxis meant that as I gathered new sources my responses were inherently shaped by the previous sources I had encountered. The types of sources and the order that I encountered them in was largely at my discretion. My choices created a "palimpsest" of material. In a textual studies context a palimpsest is a "manuscript or piece of writing material on which later writing has been superimposed on effaced earlier writing."[35] In a geographical context it refers to "a place or landscape in which something new is superimposed over traces of something preceding it."[36] Both usages relate to a temporal layering where meanings made about the material in the upper layers are fundamentally shaped by the presence of the lower layers, and vice versa in that the lower layers now cannot be engaged with except by way of the upper. As my gathering progressed I added more and more layers.

As well as gathering sources I also gathered my own reflections on sources. I worked with the physical theatre notion of "task work," setting myself short, simple, open tasks based on a provocation found during gathering that I then explored responses to. Provocations might include words ("bell-curve", "famine"), concepts ("arrival in the colony", "the Law of the Sea"), written pieces of text (*Old Botany Bay* (1953) by Mary Gilmore) or images. I found that the more prosaic provocations often yielded the most interesting or idea-rich responses

[35] Oxford Living Dictionaries, "Palimpsest," https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/palimpsest.
[36] Sabrina Doyle, "Geography word of the week: Palimpsest," Canadian Geographic, https://www.canadiangeographic.ca/article/geography-word-week-palimpsest.

because it forced me to interrogate or move beyond stereotypes and assumptions.[37]

I always worked with a time limit, generally in ten-minute blocks, which is a widely established practice for task work. Scott Graham and Steven Hoggett, of physical theatre company Frantic Assembly, suggest that "limitations create freedoms and breed artistic creativity" and can be more productive than improvising within a limitless "void."[38] By repeating tasks I pushed myself "beyond 1st 2nd 3rd thoughts".[39] I always went into physical task work with understanding of which provocations I would explore, but "a significant part of devising is to not know," which meant being flexible to new ideas or directions as they arose.[40] My written task work played out in a similar way to the physical methods except instead of working up on the floor I undertook writing tasks based on provocations. I saved each written task, regardless of any mistakes or inconsistencies, and would not edit or polish them as finished pieces of work but rather left them as messy, incomplete responses.

Task work is a way of generating rich, complex data. However, it was rarely immediately apparent how the ideas generated through task work would feed into my next stage: "writing." Sometimes only the smallest flicker of an idea can prove useful. Because I was never aware of exactly how a task might influence my process of creative interpretation I documented everything, either through video or saving written drafts. Thorough documentation allowed me to revisit and reflect upon my task work throughout my process. Despite this documentation it would be impossible for another practitioner to use this material to trace and repeat my precise creative process. This is because each task does not exist in isolation but is fundamentally shaped by the gathering and

[37] Miranda Tufnell and Chris Crickmay, *Body Space Image: notes towards improvisation and performance* (UK: Dance Books, 1990), 111.
[38] Scott Graham and Steven Hoggett, *The Frantic Assembly Book of Devising Theatre* (US: Routledge, 2012), 7.
[39] Tufnell and Crickmay, 117.
[40] Graham and Hoggett, 7.

writing that has come before it. It is its palimpsestuous nature that makes it unique and unrepeatable.

Part of the gathering stage also required coming to terms with the great swathes of ideas that would never find their way into a finished creative interpretation. The periods of "research and development" undertaken by DV8 in creating each new theatre work create hundreds of hours of video and documentation but, according to director Lloyd Newson, "[m]uch will be rejected and not used at all."[41] This is somewhat similar to the notes that an historian might keep. Only the tip of the iceberg has been included in this thesis, but none of it is wasted.

Reflections on "gathering"

From my past practice I had already identified the outline of three of my research questions that related to authority, accuracy and ethics. Through early gathering I began to understand the pervasiveness of "authenticity" in creative interpretation literature and wondered how it might apply to my own practice, which shaped a fourth research question. As I engaged with practice-based research literature I was able to refine all four of my research questions to the versions included in this thesis. A different practitioner would have chosen different research questions, and would have subsequently developed different creative interpretations while answering them. All practice-based researchers and any researchers working with a qualitative framework acknowledge that their own subjectivity is highly influential on their research methods and findings. Unlike in the field of quantitative history where various measures are employed to curb an historian's acknowledged inherent subjectivity, my subjectivity is instead a celebrated and actively encouraged facet of my praxis.

It was while reflecting upon my gathering of the Founders and Survivors published outputs and wider Tasmanian convict history that I also narrowed my

[41] Jo Butterworth, "Interview: In conversation with Jo Butterworth," *Lloyd Newson Interviews* 2004.

focus to target specific Founders and Survivors publications. Rather than trying to interpret the entirety of the different Founders and Survivors research outputs, which would have proven an immense and ultimately unproductive task, I limited my focus to three particular publications. I describe these and discuss my reasons for choosing them in the next chapter.

The field of ethnodrama provided a way of framing this process of selection within my methodology. Tara Goldstein, an ethnodramatist who develops plays based on her ethnographic data and research, emphasises that her ethnodramas are only one interpretation of her ethnographic research and that meaning always "depends on who is telling the story."[42] Goldstein works within a postmodern epistemology where no single text she develops can represent the whole of her research.[43] This proved useful for me in reflecting on the scale of the Founders and Survivors project published outputs and my inability to ever represent them all in their entirety. Rather than worrying about "letting go" of any important Founders and Survivors findings I drew on Goldstein to frame my selection, and thus exclusion of publications, as a way of "leaving space" for other future interpretations.[44]

During gathering I began to use tasks to explicitly approach my research questions and this produced many interesting, idea-rich responses. However, I found that although I was developing written or physical task work that demonstrated the value of the research questions or showcased potential solutions to them, I could not at this point critically engage with these tasks in order to actually respond to my research questions. This is because by working in a task work context that was, by necessity, flexible and consequence-free, and by focusing on just one question each time as a provocation, I was removing the very conditions that creative interpreters work within that bring about these challenges in the first place. All of my research questions seemed easily approachable when I only had that one question to think about, siloing the ethics

[42] Tara Goldstein, *Staging Harriet's House: Writing and Producing Research-Informed Theatre* (New York: Peter Lang, 2012), 16-17.
[43] Ibid., 4.
[44] Ibid., 122.

of consent from questions of accuracy, or focusing on accessibility but ignoring the question of authenticity. Like the historian who tests her dependent variable in order to prove her own theory, I was at risk of only finding what I had planned to find in each piece – a kind of practice-based confirmation bias. It was at this point, reflecting after the first major gathering stage, that I knew I was ready to start writing.

Writing

In adapting novels for theatre Helen Edmundson describes a process that bears great similarity to my own. First she "spend[s] some time getting to grips with all the ideas the story is dealing with," similar to my gathering stage. Then Edmundson:

> "identif[ies] a central driving idea, the idea I want my piece of theatre to explore, and which I want the audience to come out thinking about. This controls all the decisions I make about where I should focus and where I lose material, and it forms the backbone to the piece."[45]

For each of my creative interpretations I identified a central driving idea. This driving aim then shaped my subsequent decisions about content and form in the writing stage. While Edmundson already knows she is writing for a primarily adult theatre audience, my past practice of creative interpretation has been characterised by a diversity of mediums and intended audiences. My choice of medium and intended audience for each of the three creative interpretations in this research was intrinsically tied to the driving aim. Once I established the aim, medium and audience I could then work on structure and content, reworking or pulling seeds of ideas from tasks. Once I had a finished first draft, usually an inconsistent patchwork of styles and voices, I would reflect upon the entire piece and decide what changes I would make for the next draft.

[45] Croall, 70.

Tufnell and Crickmay describe their method of taking improvisations "towards performance" as "cycling" through processes of "opening up and paring down material, at each stage deciding what major or minor change will move the work on."[46] Whilst not referring to it as such, Tufnell and Crickmay's overarching process is one of reflective practice – making choices about material and reflecting upon those choices for how best to "move the work on." During the writing stage I would do the same by cycling through material, building and shifting my work. I would also have rare moments of "clarification," when suddenly "in a flash of recognition" my writing would "suddenly gel" and I would know how best to proceed with it.[47] It was in the writing stages for my creative interpretations that I also began to reflect upon and explore responses to my research questions. Those moments of clarification and flashes of recognition related not just to what might work best for a creative interpretation but simultaneously how the creative interpretation might assist me to answer my research questions.

I initially chose to develop two distinctly different types of creative interpretation, with distinctly different aims. This would allow me to compare and contrast the different tools and techniques I used in each to develop multifaceted well-supported responses to my research questions, much like an historian does in comparing multiple sources or different perspectives. It also allowed me to test the theories I was developing in response to my research questions in different contexts.

Oh Hi There History is a filmed web-series with the driving aim of making the findings from my chosen Founders and Survivors project publications as accessible as possible for a heritage audience who were already interested in history, particularly family history, but would not have had the opportunity to engage with quantitative history or the Founders and Survivors project. It is made up of a series of eight x five-minute episodes. I began developing *OHTH* in mid-2015 and finished the final edit on the episodes in early 2018.

---

[46] Tufnell and Crickmay, 194.
[47] Ibid.

My second creative interpretation, *The Needle*, is a play for an adult theatre audience (as opposed to museum theatre) with the driving aim to grapple with the many layers of interpretation and documentation that underpin both the Founders and Survivors researchers' process and my own. I began writing *The Needle* in 2015 and the draft submitted in this thesis was completed in early 2018.

Reflecting on praxis

It was while reflecting during the development of *The Needle* and *OHTH* that I decided upon a third audience for my creative interpretations in this research: academics. I had presented at two academic conferences during the early writing stages of *The Needle* and *OHTH*. For both I developed conference presentations that explained my research aims, my methodology at that point and some of the challenges I had faced so far. I presented in what I perceived was the style of an historian's academic paper – structuring my presentation like an academic essay, using literature and other theorists as evidence to support my claims, and supporting my presentation with a slide show with quotations and images.

Upon reflecting on these conference presentations I realised that I had attempted to artificially separate my theory self from my practice self. The conference presentations themselves felt impoverished as a result – I did not have any findings to share because my findings were embedded within my practice and I did not include any real engagement with my practice in the presentations. The creative interpretation, *Are your z-scores getting encores?*, was developed as a response to this, with the driving aim of developing a form of academic presentation that could acknowledge the interweaving of my theory and practice as praxis – a conference paper that was also a creative interpretation.

Are your z-scores getting encores?

Are your z-scores getting encores? was developed for an academic audience and its driving aim was to develop a creative interpretation of history that also overtly engaged with my own research about the process of creative interpretation, combining theory and practice together as praxis. *Are your z-scores getting encores?* outlines for an academic audience some of the tools available to a creative interpreter in communicating the Founders and Survivors research, and hints at some of the ethical risks of creative interpretation. It does this by creatively interpreting the research findings in the Founders and Survivors publication "Prison and the Colonial Family" and the story of Seth Marley, the son of a convict who proves to be outlier to the authors' findings about the children of convicts.[48] I presented *Are your z-scores getting encores?* at the Digital Panopticon conference in June 2016 in Hobart, Australia.

Rehearsing, performing, filming and editing

For both *OHTH* and *Are your z-scores getting encores?* I undertook a rehearsal stage. The rehearsal process requires a great deal of discipline in order to develop a confidently polished, ready piece of work, but also openness and flexibility to new insights or choices that might emerge during rehearsals. By repeating and learning a text through my voice and body, playing and experimenting to see what works and deciding which choices might be the most effective, I found a host of new meanings in each creative interpretation. Alan Bennett says of his own plays that "[i]t's hard to say what it's about until the actors rehearse it, and then you find out."[49] The rehearsal process is a creative, constructive process, unique to every performer and rehearsal period. In rehearsing both of these creative interpretations I made changes to the written text as I began to work them more rigorously out loud and through my body. I performed *Are your z-scores getting encores?* as a conference paper at the 2016

[48] Maxwell-Stewart, Inwood, and Stankovich.
[49] Croall, 8.

Digital Panopticon Conference in Hobart, Tasmania, for a fifty-strong audience of historians, quantitative historians, criminologists and archaeologists. However, this thesis will focus on the development of *Are your z-scores getting encores?* as a play script, not as a performed work of theatre, and so I will not be analysing these rehearsal or performance stages.

Rather than being a singular, ephemeral theatrical performance, the eight episodes of *OHTH* were rehearsed then performed for camera, filmed and edited as repeatable, shareable digital videos. One of the growing considerations for practitioner-researchers who work with digital technology is whether a practitioner goes "down the route of collaboration with experts in computer technology" or decides to "become [the] expert themselves."[50] I had extensive experience performing for film and operating video and audio equipment from my Bachelor of Creative Arts (Drama) at Flinders University and had worked on some film projects in subsequent years. However, in order to undertake the filming process for this doctoral research I took further study with the Australian Film Television and Radio School in video-making and editing using the Adobe Premiere Pro software.

I chose to do this myself rather than engage external experts partly in order to be able to execute the web-series within the scope of this doctoral research but also in order to further explore my role as creative interpreter. Working with this technology led my creative practice into new territory, as I had not before developed a creative interpretation for a filmed medium. I went through a number of iterations of the filming and editing stages, each time followed by reflection, in order to experiment with audio, lighting, camera angles, set and costume and to test how these would then function during the editing stage. The final filming stage saw me hire a camera and consolidate all of my findings from those earlier experiments into a fortnight-long shoot where I filmed all eight episodes.

The subsequent cycles of editing and reflecting in order to cut and polish each

[50] Candy, 39.

episode took around nine months. Editing proved to be a highly creative process and I found myself making a great many changes to the text as I reflected upon edited sequences. Like Helen Edmundson, when she watches actors workshopping her writing, I found "visual images" that could replace sections of dialogue.[51] Playwright Tom Stoppard described the editing process writing his play, *The Coast of Utopia* (2002), as going through and "taking out all the bricks I could without the wall falling down."[52] I had filmed all of the dialogue and action included in the written scripts for *OHTH* but in editing found myself removing and reducing great swathes of dialogue. Many of the bricks that had appeared necessary on the page did not need to remain in order to hold up the wall once the scripts were adapted to the filmed medium of a web-series.

My choice to write *The Needle* as a play script but not rehearse and perform it as theatre was based upon a number of considerations. Firstly, unlike the other three creative interpretations, I did not write *The Needle* for myself to perform but rather for it to be produced in a theatre, with a director and a cast of four actors. By focusing on my development of *The Needle* as a play script in this thesis I could make creative choices in the script that I would not have had the capacity to do if I were also producing it as a work of theatre for this research. In adapting her novel, *Wolf Hall* (2009), for theatre, Hilary Mantel noted that "[o]n the page, a cast of a hundred is as cheap as a cast of two" but that this changes when taking a page to stage.[53] Whilst I deeply considered how *The Needle* might be staged as theatre while writing it, by not actually staging it as part of this research it expanded my creative choices during writing and thus opened out the approaches I could take in answering my research questions. Developing *The Needle* as a play script also means that it has a life beyond this research in being handed over to a creative team including actors, a director and a design team, and this will in turn mean that it undergoes another process of adaptation in being adapted from page to stage. It became evident that collaborating with other practitioners would also prove a crucial next step in developing the

[51] Croall, 98.
[52] Ibid., 12.
[53] Hilary Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 5: Adaptation," in *The Reith Lectures*, ed. BBC Radio 4 (2017).

characters of Michael and Cynthia, which I will discuss in the final chapter, *The Ethics of Creative Interpretation.* My analysis of *The Needle* focuses solely on my role as a playwright, providing a contrasting perspective to *OHTH* where I undertook a myriad of creative roles including writer, performer, director and video editor.

Documentation

Reflective practice depends upon rigorous methods of documentation so that a practitioner can comprehensively reflect upon their choices in order to make new ones. Constant and consistent documentation also provides evidence connecting the creative practice to research, which is important from a research integrity perspective.[54] The documentation process for my research was informed by Peter Hulton's theory of documentation, which suggests that it be "aligned," "individuated," "performative" and "projective."[55]

My documentation was "aligned" in that I used a number of different documentation strategies so as to comprehensively capture my praxis. It was "individuated" in that I used different forms of documentation to capture different types of content, being mindful of how that form would be appropriate for different audiences. In documenting the written aspects of my praxis I maintained labelled and dated drafts, and when doing physical task work I would video my improvisations and explorations using the camera on my mobile phone. In developing *OHTH* as a web-series I recorded, saved and labelled all of the footage with a Canon EOS 5D Mark III and a lapel microphone before then editing it into the finished web-series. My choices around technology reflect the need for the documentation to be "projective" – designed for particular audiences. *OHTH* would be engaged with by a wider public audience and thus

[54] Adam J Ledger, Simon K Ellis, and Fiona Wright, "The Question of Documentation: Creative Strategies in Performance Research," in *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance*, ed. Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 167.
[55] Ibid., 173.

was recorded with higher quality sound and video compared to the documentation of my own physical task work. The latter was also rarely edited because the audience for these videos was only myself – unless I was workshopping something that could only be realised through editing. In documenting my own reflections of my praxis I kept a research diary. By writing a diary I was able to then read back over my reflections throughout my research in order to reflect again as time went on.

My chosen forms of documentation were "performative" in that they stand alone as occurrences as well as being memorialisations of occurrences.[56] If a practitioner-researcher's findings rely upon an engagement with their creative practice then the documentation of that practice must be performative in order for the overall project to be peer-reviewable. A peer must be able to engage with the practice in its primary form, not just through a memorialisation or secondary version of that practice. My three creative interpretations that I developed have been documented in their primary form and included in this thesis. The written drafts of my two play scripts, *Are your z-scores getting encores?* and *The Needle*, do not "stand-in" for the practice of playwriting but *are* the practice. Similarly, watching the edited video footage of *OHTH* means watching the web-series in the primary form for which it has been developed. Video in this case is not used as a substitute for live performance.

Although I did perform *Are your z-scores getting encores?* to a live audience I chose not to document it with video. As a deliberately live and ephemeral performance event a video documentation would overshadow, and perhaps undercut, this vital characteristic of it being live. It would also be inappropriate for a reader to engage with a secondary version of it through video whilst I discussed the primary occurrence. As such I have limited my discussion of my findings in relation to its development as a play script. In contrast, I did document my physical improvisation work through video, which does only represent a "version" of the occurrence rather than the occurrence itself, which

[56] Ibid.

took place live.[57] However, by being videoed I could watch the improvisations back and reflect upon them as part of my process. Here an engagement with the live occurrence is not necessary to understand the ongoing role these physical improvisations played in my praxis. In this way my documentation reflected practitioner-researcher Simon Ellis's approach in asking how the material best "represent[s] my experience and understanding of the work" as practitioner, and how it contributes to the meaning of the overall project for a peer.[58]

My diaries, as written reflections, acted as both memorialisations of my reflection but also represent the occurrence of reflection itself. As well as being a way of "telling," writing is described by qualitative researcher Laurel Richardson as "a way of knowing", allowing the writer to gain new insights on their topic as they write.[59] This power of writing is acknowledged in the field of history, with historian Edward Carr stating: "the more I write, the more I know what I am looking for", and thus "the better I understand the significance and relevance of what I find."[60]

My diaries represented a mix of what Nicole Bourke and Philip Nielson describe as First Order and Second Order journaling, which they discuss in the context of creative writing but which I have applied to my praxis. First Order Journal Work is "primarily concerned with the emotional relationship of the writer to the task of writing, or to the subject of the writing," and is "intuitive, instinctive" and experience focused.[61] I wrote at least some First Order journaling most days during my doctoral research, detailing my immediate and instinctive responses to tasks, drafts and the research process, as well as reflecting on my emotional relationship with my research.

---

[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., 181.
[59] Laurel Richardson, "Writing: a method of enquiry," in *Handbook of qualitative research*, ed. Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1994), 516.
[60] Carr, 28.
[61] Nicole A Bourke and Philip M Neilsen, "The problem of the exegesis in Creative Writing Higher Degrees," *TEXT*, no. 3 (2004).

In contrast, Second Order Journal Work is what Bourke and Nielson call "meta-writing," a process of "writing *about* writing" that is "self-conscious, evaluative [and] critical" and that "asks questions about process, product, praxis and practice."[62] My Second Order Journal Work was only possible once I had reflected upon the intuitive emotional responses bled out through my First Order work, filtered out the descriptions of practice that do not actually involve practice (typified by Bourke and Nielson as the "driving, washing up, weeping, drinking coffee") and began "examining and critiquing" my reflections on my praxis.[63]

This Second Order journaling took place at times in my diaries and in annual reflective statements about my research process, but most obviously in this thesis, which is itself a form of documentation of my praxis. Hamilton and Jaaniste describe this kind of reflective writing as a mixture of "context" and "commentary" in a way that reconciles the "traditionally external, objective and disinterested situation of the observer" with the "internal, invested position of the maker."[64] In order to reconcile these two, at times contradictory, voices, practitioner-researchers like myself must combine "a hybrid of genres and styles" and, by virtue of this, the work will necessarily have a "poly-vocality."[65] That poly-vocality is apparent in this thesis in shifts between the first-person discussion of my own praxis and more distanced discussion of findings in the wider literature.

Reflecting on documentation

Reflective practice allowed me to be flexible to the kind of moments in my praxis described by Jenny Hughes, Jenny Kidd and Catherine McNamara as "improvisation" or "decomposition" – the moments when research diverts from

[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Jillian G Hamilton and Luke O Jaaniste, "Content, structure and orientations of the practice-led exegesis," in *Art.Med.Design : Writing Intersections* (Swinburne University, Melbourne2009), 7.
[65] Ibid.

the carefully laid original plan, or in the case of "decomposition" when the original plan appears to "deteriorate."[66] One such moment was in finding an appropriate Second Order journaling voice for this thesis, which proved to be a persistent "problem" that I needed to resolve that had not been included in my initial research questions. When I first began my research diary I understood that my notes were written with dual purposes: to both inform my Second Order journaling in this thesis and also to support my development of creative interpretations. In her historical fiction research, practitioner-researcher Donna Lee Brien notes a similar duality in framing herself as two selves: a "creative writer-reader" who does one thing and a "historian" who does another.[67] In the early stages of my research I faced a challenge in my discursive writing because I too was considering myself as two selves: a researcher and a practitioner.

Hamilton and Jaaniste describe the process of reconciling the dual voices of the practice-based researcher as being both external observer and invested maker as a "complex and genuinely difficult" mode of writing.[68] In the early stages of my research I was still coming to grips with the interweaving of theory and practice and this difficulty was reflected in early drafts of my Second Order journaling. At first I incorporated a self-conscious third-person voice, as if the person undertaking the research was separate to the person documenting it:

> "The Researcher-Interpreter had the opportunity to undertake a number of experiential activities as part of the gathering process including visiting with convict sites, convict-related museum and gallery collections, and gaining an understanding of place and contemporary culture across wider Tasmania."

As my research continued I began to see these two distinctly separate selves as different parts of the one self. This can be seen in my developing *Are your z-scores getting encores?*. Although I felt comfortable merging these different selves

---

[66] Hughes, Kidd, and McNamara, 188; ibid.
[67] Brien, 56.
[68] Hamilton and Jaaniste, 7.

into a creative interpretation, at this point in my research I still felt the need to distinguish them in my discursive writing. This was reflected in a shift in style in my Second Order journaling where I incorporated well-known Shakespearean characters as touchstones to identify the different roles I undertook in my research, weaving them together to form an imaginative narrative that provided commentary and context for my research:

> "…to guide us through History, meet Cordelia – a young princess with high-level analytical skills who speaks what she feels, not what she ought to say. As an historian Cordelia is prone to evidence-based statements rather than exaggeration and has been known to exclaim "no cause, no cause" when she believes someone has misinterpreted causal relationships in the sources."

This narrative style allowed me to write in the first-person as the architect of the thesis, but outsourced the research to my various fictional characters. This was problematic in that it too neatly glossed over the "complexity, uncertainty" and "instability" of my creative practice and my unique and individual role as practitioner-researcher.[69] The final iteration of my Second Order journaling style, the voice in this thesis, lost the detachment of the first example and the schizophrenia of the second, finding a comfortable space between external observer and invested maker. My comfort in this space stems from leaning into the discomfort, acknowledging that those voices of maker and observer do not always perfectly fit together and at times can lead to my findings being uncertain or unstable, which is what necessitated a practice-based research strategy to begin with.

Through a process of writing and reflecting on those different Second Order journaling stages I was able to merge my different selves and understand and accept the synchronicity of theory and practice in my research. Like Hadley's Möbius strip I found there was no clear-cut point where theory or practice took place but rather it was all linked. The time it took to cement this understanding

[69] Schon, 14.

suggests there is something in Stewart's notion that it takes "confidence" for an artist to connect their personal methods with wider research methodologies.[70] Using a reflective practice strategy allowed me to reflect upon my voice during the writing of my thesis, consider what was working and what was not and make changes accordingly.

This is demonstrative of my wider use of reflective practice in this thesis. I have outlined my broad approach to developing creative interpretations through gathering, writing, rehearsing, performing, filming and editing. By reflecting regularly and deeply within and between each stage, my methods of creative interpretation within these broad categories shifted in response to my findings. The following chapters will now discuss the methodological findings of my thesis in relation to my research questions. The key to answering my first research question about the relationship between history and creative interpretation was found in the field of adaptation studies. However, before I could begin to analyse that question I needed to first establish what I meant by "history."

[70] Stewart.

CHAPTER 3 Convicts, The Past and Archival Historians

How the Founders and Survivors project engages with the past

Convict history and its historians

Convict transportation to Australia began in the aftermath of the American War of Independence. This had put an end to British transportation to North America, which had seen an estimated 50,000 convicts transported to New World colonies between 1717 and 1775.[1] Retired war ships docked in British harbours known as "hulks" were employed as temporary prison sites, but these soon became too numerous and full. The unlikely solution to Britain's overflowing prisons was found in the continent of Australia. This new southern land had only recently been brought to British attention but was in fact already home to hundreds of interconnected communities of people who had developed complex social, economic, agricultural and spiritual practices, in concert with the surrounding region, over a period of at least 65,000 years.[2] The British invasion of Australia resulted in a swift, violent and calculated dispersal of the bulk of these communities and a disruption, and in places devastation, of their cultural practices. Both of these processes might be described as attempted genocide.[3] The impacts of invasion are still evident. There are marked socio-economic and health disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians today.[4]

Transportation to Australia provided not only a form of punishment and accommodation for convicted criminals but was also a means of claiming key southern territories and resources for the British before any other Imperial

---

[1] Christopher and Maxwell-Stewart, 71.
[2] Chris Clarkson et al., "Human occupation of northern Australia by 65,000 years ago," *Nature* 547 (2017).
[3] Henry Reynolds, *An Indelible Stain? : the question of genocide in Australia's history* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 2001); A. Dirk Moses, *Genocide and settler society : frontier violence and stolen indigenous children in Australian history* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004).
[4] Australian Human Rights Commission.

power.[5] Most Western European colonial enterprises used unfree labour. Most commonly this took the form of slavery. In an era where unfree labour became associated with skin colour it was increasingly difficult for the British to justify the deployment of predominantly white convicts alongside slaves from west and central Africa. Redeployment to Eastern Australia conveniently circumvented this problem. While convicts were exiled as a punishment, their labour was useful – in this case it enabled the British to seize a continent. The First Fleet landed in New South Wales in 1788. It comprised of eleven ships containing just under 800 criminals convicted in British courts.[6] In 1803 convict ships were sent further south to claim the heart-shaped island then named Van Diemen's Land, now known as the Australian state of Tasmania.

In total, approximately 165,000 convicts were transported to the Australian colonies between the years 1788 and 1863.[7] New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Norfolk Island and, later, Western Australia, all directly received transported convicts over different periods. The flows to each were characterised by different socio-economic conditions and each developed different systems for controlling and extracting labour from convicts. This research focuses on convicts transported to Van Diemen's Land.

Between 1803 and 1853 around 73,000 men, women and children were transported to Van Diemen's Land as convicts.[8] Van Diemen's Land is often described as the "prison without walls" because the majority of transportees were not typically imprisoned under lock and key but instead worked for landowners, businesses and on government projects – most early infrastructure and colonial buildings were constructed with convict labour. Convicts were first and foremost imprisoned socially and economically through the government's rigorous recordkeeping practices that controlled their employment, physical

[5] Christopher and Maxwell-Stewart, 86-87.
[6] Ibid., 68.
[7] Clare Anderson, "Transnational Histories of Penal Transportation: Punishment, Labour and Governance in the British Imperial World, 1788-1939," *Australian Historical Studies* 47, no. 3 (2016): 382.
[8] Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, *Closing Hell's Gates* (NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2008), 2.

location and even their ability to marry or have children. Free settlers who migrated during the early days of the convict system were often assigned convict workers for whom they – not the government – would have to foot the living costs, under what was known as the Assignment System.[9] In 1840 the Probation System was introduced. Under the new regulations convicts had to first undertake a period of probationary labour for the state before being able to work for private masters.[10]

Convicts' lives were governed by a system of punishments and rewards. If a convict was deemed well behaved they would receive boons in the form of permission to marry, a ticket-of-leave allowing them to seek their own employment, or a conditional pardon effectively ending their sentence so long as they never returned to Britain. Threat of punishment was a key tool in keeping convicts in line. Misbehaving convicts could lose their ticket-of-leave, be subjected to a range of brutal corporal punishments, sentenced to a period of hard labour or sent to spend a period of time incarcerated at a secondary punishment site. Female convicts were punished at the various Female Factories and male convicts were sent to sites like Macquarie Harbour or the infamous Port Arthur. From the late 1840s a separate system was developed at Port Arthur where convicts were punished through extreme isolation.[11] Thanks to Van Diemen's Land being an island the possibility of escape from the colony for convicts was limited. These physical boundaries also made it incredibly difficult to escape the colonial administration's systems of documentation. The archival remains of the Tasmanian convict system's rigorous recordkeeping practices represent some of the most comprehensive and detailed nineteenth-century surveillance systems in the world.

A growing anti-transportationist movement developed in Van Diemen's Land in the mid-nineteenth century. Many settlers, particularly those who did not directly benefit from convict labour, saw the convict system as an obstacle to

[9] L. L. Robson and Michael Roe, *A short history of Tasmania*, [2nd] ed. (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997), 15.
[10] Ibid., 19-20.
[11] Daniels, "Cults of Nature: Cults of History," 6.

continued colonial progress. Some likened continued transportation to an infection – a blight on what was fast becoming a prosperous and proud society.[12] When the last transport vessel docked in Van Diemen's Land in 1853 plans were already afoot to cloak the isle's past in a shroud of silence. The name of the colony was changed to Tasmania in 1856 in an attempt to wash away what was widely known as the "convict stain."[13] Because of their sensitive nature, access to convict records was severely restricted and in some cases they were actively destroyed.[14] The archives were completely closed to the public, and by tacit agreement local late nineteenth-century historians left the convict system well alone.[15] An early post-transportation historian might ambiguously mention the colony's "unlimited supply of labour" at times only when the massive scale of a particular building project could not go unremarked upon.[16]

Emancipated convicts who had been able to build stable lives post-sentence through marriage or employment quickly melted into society with a "don't ask don't tell" attitude shared amongst their neighbours.[17] Others crossed the Bass Strait to mainland Australia, starting new lives with sanitised back-stories and settling into employment or joining the rush to the Victorian gold fields.[18] While many convicts successfully transitioned to a new life, a small but "noticeable" cohort continued to dominate the courts and other colonial institutions.[19] They were predominantly unmarried men, thanks to the marked gender imbalance in the colony in the first half of the nineteenth century, and would mostly die without recognised progeny, thus supposedly ending the convict legacy. Meanwhile the many thousands of convicts who did start families largely

---

[12] James Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2008), 237.
[13] Alison Alexander, *Tasmania's Convicts: How felons built a free society* (Crows Nest, N.S.W: Allen & Unwin, 2010), 155. Boyce, 243.
[14] Lucy Frost, "The Politics of Writing Convict Lives: Academic Research, State Archives and Family History," *Life Writing* 8, no. 1 (2011): 21.
[15] Boyce, 243.
[16] Young, 47.
[17] Alexander, 155. Boyce, 1.
[18] Maxwell-Stewart, ""And all my great hardships endured?" Irish convicts in Van Diemen's Land," 80.
[19] McCalman, "Visible and Invisible Vandemonians in Victoria," 4. Alexander, 55-56.

managed to vanish in plain sight amongst the community. While most in the immediate post-transportation era might have been aware of which of their peers "didn't pay his own passage" or were "old hands," it was generally held to be best for society as a whole if these differences were not publicly remarked upon.[20] After a generation or two passed in this style many families were not even aware of their own recent convict ancestry. Today it is supposed that 1 in 6, Australians are of convict descent.[21]

The collective social silence around the convict system meant that it was not until the early twentieth century that there began to be any real attempt by historians to discuss Tasmania's convict past. Ronald Giblin's 1928 *The Early History of Tasmania* is characteristic of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century histories and focuses on the "institutional development of constitutional and legal systems" in building the colony.[22] The literal builders of the colony, the convicts, who physically laboured under each Lieutenant-Governor, receive little attention from Giblin and are discussed as a commodity. This reflects the similar way that convicts were tallied and monetised in documentation by the colonial administration during the convict era.

By the early twentieth century most historians had rejected the empirical approaches of their predecessors. Ranke's influential concept of using the primary sources in pursuit of *wie es eigentlich gewesen* – attempting to simply show "how it really was" – was tempered by an understanding that primary sources should be analysed relative to their own place and time.[23] However, historians of Giblin's period still believed that they worked with "facts." This meant that they failed to acknowledge that as they wrote history, they *made* history, and were enshrining *as history* particular narratives and perspectives

[20] Tom Griffiths, "Past silences: Aborigines and convicts in our history-making," in *Pastiche I: Reflections on nineteenth-century Australia*, ed. Penny Russell and Richard White (NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1994). Reece, 110.
[21] Wilson, "Australian Prison Tourism: A Question of Narrative Integrity," 564.
[22] R. W. Giblin and James Douglas Archer Collier, *The Early History of Tasmania* (London: Methuen, 1928). Gilderhus, 89.
[23] Carr, 9.

that were not necessarily inherent to the sources.[24] Early twentieth-century historians who did discuss convicts in any great detail usually did so by drawing on "nineteenth-century discourses of class and criminality" that saw convicts as the "rootless" and "uncivilised nomadic tribes of Britain's urban slums."[25]

Even after the horrors of the First World War western historians still largely saw the past as existing along a linear timeline of "progress." This hangover from the Enlightenment suggested that human nature was constantly improving and evolving to be better and better.[26] Convicts fell firmly on the wrong side of progress. But as Empire, tradition and a slew of convict-built buildings began to crumble by the mid-twentieth century, notions of history as "progress" and fixed "facts" fell with them. After the Second World War, western historians found they had lost the moral and factual certainty of their predecessors and *wie es eigentlich gewesen* started to look very different depending on when and where an historian was writing from. Historians began to no longer look just at the past; they also looked more carefully at themselves.

John Tosh cites Edward Carr's 1961 *What Is History?* as "nothing short of revolutionary". [27] In this path-breaking book Carr describes history as an "unending dialogue" between the past and the present.[28] Carr articulates the great many choices made by the historian in regards to the selection and analysis of source material and the process of historical writing, where at every stage "the present intrudes on the reconstruction of the past."[29] Rather than being fixed or singular, the past becomes "intangible" for historians, changing depending on how, when and by whom it is looked at.[30]

---

[24] Oakeshott, in ibid., 22.
[25] Kirsty Reid, *Gender, Crime and Empire* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2007), 3.
[26] Tosh and Lang, 19.
[27] Ibid., x.
[28] Carr in ibid.
[29] Carr in ibid.
[30] Gilderhus, 81.

The practice of history subsequently changed dramatically in the second half of the twentieth century. Simultaneously, and not in isolation, the sources available to historians analysing Tasmania's convict past experienced a revolution of their own. In the 1970s, thanks to some hard campaigning by historians and archivists, the Tasmanian convict archive was finally made available to the public.[31] The effects of this glasnost on the archive were huge. A great many families suddenly became acquainted with their previously unknown convict ancestors, which for many proved a surprising and, still at this point in time, quite confronting discovery. But it would not take more than a few decades for attitudes to turn full circle, and today having a convict in the family is a point of pride for many Australians.

The glacial melting of negative attitudes towards the convicts had begun in the aftermath of the First World War. The war was seen as a great public test for Australia that resulted in a "vindication of Australian manhood" demonstrating Australia's sense of colonial independence from Britain.[32] This "sense of relief that Australian troops had not been found wanting" while fighting in overseas conflicts then suggested to many that the convict stain had either been "effectively washed out" or was perhaps not as impactful as many might have previously thought.[33] Some argued that the reason for this was that most convicts were not in fact career criminals, and were instead petty offenders who had been harshly dealt with.

An Australian sense of collective identity began to be understood through notions of "mateship" and "egalitarianism."[34] These concepts supported a gradual shift in attitudes towards the convicts that, by the late twentieth century,

---

[31] Frost, 25.
[32] Lake, 45.
[33] Barry Godfrey, Kris Inwood, and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, "Exploring the life-course and intergenerational impact of convict transportation," in *Intergenerational Continuity of Criminal and Antisocial Behaviour: An International Overview of Studies*, ed. Veroni I. Eichelsheim and Steve G. A. van de Weijer (UK: Routledge, 2018).
[34] Bruce Tranter and Jed Donoghue, "Colonial and post-colonial aspects of Australian identity," *The British Journal of Sociology* 58, no. 2 (2007): 167.

saw them framed less as deviant criminals and more as victims of wider socio-economic machinations. Historians today warn about the dangers of wholly casting the convicts as colonial victims because it overshadows the destruction of Indigenous Australian cultures and ignores the active role that convicts played in invasion.[35] However, in the late twentieth century this underdog attitude heralded a pivotal shift away from the public prejudice and shame associated with Australia's convict past.

This shift can be seen in the approaches taken by historians in their analysis of the convicts, supported by changes in the wider study of the history of crime. Rather than reducing convicts to a horde of corrupt "career criminals" historians began to explore the social and economic backgrounds of convicts, putting into context the crimes they were transported for and the long-term effects of their enforced exile. This was consistent with wider twentieth-century shifts away from the "great" individuals of history, the kind of history Marjorie Becker describes as "the retelling of the ways the wealthy, the powerful and the literate have appropriated the world."[36] Historians began to look in more detail at group identities like "workers, peasants, racial and ethnic groups, women, and families" and any "historical actors" who had not previously had their stories explored in "traditional, national histories".[37] They also began to understand convicts as individuals with rich, diverse and meaningful family and community networks that were both severed and made anew through transportation.

Stephen Nicholas's edited collection, *Convict Workers* (1988), revised many long held public perceptions about the convict experience, discussing convicts in their context as both workers with valuable skillsets and as a migrant population sent to establish a new colony, countering the "career criminal" assumption.[38] The opening up of the archive allowed historians to ask specific questions and

[35] Reid, 7.
[36] Marjorie Becker, "When I was a child, I danced as a child, but now that I am old, I think about salvation," in *Experiments in Rethinking History*, ed. Alun Munslow and Robert A. Rosenstone (Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2004), 28.
[37] Gilderhus, 88.
[38] Stephen Nicholas, ed. *Convict Workers : Reinterpreting Australia's past* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

interpret history through a variety of new voices. Historians like Deborah Oxley, Joy Damousi, Kay Daniels, Lucy Frost, Kirsty Reid and Tony Raynor all turned their focus to the perspectives and experiences of female convicts in Van Diemen's Land who had previously been largely ignored by historians.[39]

In writing about history in the 1960s Carr hinted at a growing concern of his about "scepticism" - that if everything is relative to the historian who writes it then nothing can ever be certain.[40] We can now identify the "scepticism" of Carr's era as the late twentieth-century notion of postmodernism, an epistemology that threw into free-fall any sense of certainty within the Humanities. In a postmodern historical context, writing and text can never reflect reality, just *a* reality, depending on who it is written by and the interpretation of the person who is reading it.[41] In this sense history might be seen as just another kind of fiction. This idea that there can be any number of interpretations of history did pave the way for a range of new voices in history, revising norms about who could or should be an historian and making way for a range of new perspectives including feminist, migrant, homosexual, or Indigenous approaches to Australian history.

Today in the post-postmodern era the majority of Australian historians do understand history as interpretative, pluralistic and relative. However, rather than diminishing history as a field of study this complexity has led to productive discourse about the rigorous, disciplined, and shared methods of source analysis and interpretation undertaken by historians. Historian Inga Clendinnen describes history as a "relentless critique of sources" and that whilst historians "take the liberty of speaking for the dead" that liberty is taken "under the rule of discipline, and the rule is strict."[42] History might be another kind of fiction, but it

---

[39] For example see Tony Rayner, *Female Factory Female Convicts : the story of the more then 13,000 women exiled from Britain to Van Diemen's Land* (Dover, Tasmania: Experance Press, 2004). Daniels, *Convict Women*. Deborah Oxley, *Convict Maids : the forced migration of women to Australia* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Reid.
[40] Carr, 27.
[41] Tosh and Lang, 194.
[42] Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel*, 264.

operates under very particular and exclusive methods and representational practices. Exclusive not in the sense that certain individuals are denied access to them – the siege on that ivory tower began some fifty years ago – but rather that these methods are special and specific, and if they are not engaged in particular ways then a work will not be recognised *as history*.

There are still those who see history as singular, linear and fixed, *the* history, rather than *a* history.[43] In the late twentieth century the History Wars debate in Australia saw two versions of colonial history pitted against one another.[44] In 1992 Prime Minister Paul Keating called for non-Indigenous Australians to shift their attitudes towards the past by recognising "that it was we who did the dispossessing. We who took traditional lands and smashed the traditional way of life…. We committed the murders."[45] Australia's "black armband" historians, as they became known, interpreted colonial records and oral history to frame the moment of contact between Britain and the Australian colonies as "invasion" and the resulting cultural devastation and violence towards Indigenous Australians upon which contemporary Australia was built as attempted "genocide."[46] In contrast, the "white blindfold" perspective minimised the extent of cultural and physical violence towards Indigenous Australians and contextualised these events within a wider positive narrative of colonial progress and nation-building, a process described by Prime Minister John Howard in 1995 as a "heroic and unique achievement against great odds."[47]

As well as representing two distinctly different interpretations of the sources this debate also represented two different ways of understanding history. The "white blindfold" perspective in some ways denied the ongoing analytical and interpretative power of the historian in "making" history, rather than merely

---

[43] Ibid., 142.
[44] Mark McKenna, "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History," in *Research Papers 1997-98* (Australia: Parliament of Australia, 1997).
[45] Paul Keating, "Keating Speech: The Redfern Address," (Australian Screen aso.gov.au: National Film and Sound Archive, 1992).
[46] Reynolds.
[47] Howard in McKenna. See also Keith Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (NSW: Macleay Press, 2002).

recording it. The "black armband" historians who were revising this long held progress narrative were dismissed or discounted as writing "revisionist" history or "interpreting" history, as if there were one singular, essential historical narrative that historians should instead adhere to.[48] In countering criticisms of "revisionism" in the United States, historian Paul Boyer suggests that that "all good scholars" should be "revisionists" in that they should strive to be "continually questioning and revising standard interpretations on the basis of new evidence, deeper analysis, or the fresh perspectives offered by the passage of time."[49] It is this understanding of history, as a field in constant and productive flux, that this thesis builds its arguments upon.

Whilst the relativist nature of history post-Second World War opened doors for new voices and lines of historical enquiry, there was a sister movement amongst American and British historians who sought more "verifiable" results by looking at history through a social sciences or quantitative lens.[50] Quantitative history, in its original basic sense, was the process of using statistical analysis as "a means of verifying general statements."[51] For example, verifying widely held assumptions about population increases over particular periods. Quantitative history makes use of numbers and their ability to describe and explain the past in a way that traditional archival history, or perhaps "qualitative history," does not. John Tosh describes the shift in the use of quantitative methods in social, economic and political history as a "transformation" of those fields because "once [historians] became seriously interested in economic growth, social change and the history of entire communities" then it became vital to ask "questions of number and proportion".[52] The focus shift by historians from individuals to groups resulted in a need to work with larger and larger sample sizes, and this, coupled with a reduction in costs for computers from the 1960s,

---

[48] Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Publishing, 2004), 28, 45.
[49] Paul Boyer, "Whose history is it anyway? Memory, politics and historical scholarship.," in *History Wars: The Enola Gay and other battles for the American Past*, ed. T.E Linenthal and T Englehardt (New York: DWL 1996), 131.
[50] Gilderhus, 96.
[51] Ibid., 97.
[52] Tosh and Lang, 257.

led to new processes and ways of storing and sifting data that would have previously been impossible.

Quantitative history courted controversy in the 1960s when some historians suggested that history might be moving closer towards an empirical science again, with the prospect of using quantitative analysis to chart some general laws of history or human behaviour.[53] However, one of the limits of quantitative history is that it can only link causes to variables that are quantifiable, which then skews the potential interpretations that historians can make. There is also an argument that a focus on aggregative analysis has a de-humanising effect, linking all decisions to social or economic preconditions and ignoring the individual human agency or emotional causes that might be at play.[54] However, this belies the need in nearly every genre of history for the historian to in some way categorise individuals according to a particular group in order to observe institutionalised behaviours or support particular theories. In contemporary practice there is no suggestion that historians should do away with other analytical techniques to exclusively use quantitative analysis.

In a convict context quantitative history has been used to great effect to verify or clarify some long-held assumptions and track changes across the convict system. Deborah Oxley's *Convict Maids: the forced migration of women to Australia* (1996) discusses the broader Australian experience of transported women. Oxley counters erroneous and old-fashioned views about the inherent immorality of convict women – the "damned whores" label – and uses quantitative techniques to illuminate the social and economic contributions they made to Australia.[55] Trudy Cowley's *A Drift of Derwent Ducks* (2005), Cowley and Dianne Snowden's *Patchwork Prisoners* (2013) and Lucy Frost's *Abandoned Women* (2012) each use quantitative techniques to analyse in detail a female

[53] Ibid., 278.
[54] Ibid., 279.
[55] Oxley.

cohort on board a particular transportation vessel in order to also draw wider findings about the experiences of convict women.[56]

Historians have also begun placing Australia's convict transportation system into a wider global system of unfree labour migration, one not unique to Australia and the British Empire.[57] The Carceral Archipelago Project (2013-) analyses the "relationships and circulations between and across convict transportation, penal colonies and labour, migration, coercion and confinement" and includes analysis of British transportation within the context of Europe as well as exploring Russia, Latin America, China and Japan.[58]

There are also a number of projects that connect with the Tasmanian convict archives through their investigation of wider nineteenth-century British penal recordkeeping systems. The Old Bailey Proceedings Online (2003-) sought to digitise and link all of the judicial proceedings from the Old Bailey in London to develop a fully searchable public database that could then be analysed by historians using digital techniques such as data mining, data visualisation and network analysis.[59] The Digital Panopticon project (2013-) now uses the Old Bailey records to investigate the approximately 29,600 prisoners who were sentenced through the Old Bailey and transported to the Australian colonies.[60] The project intends to compare the outcomes for these convicts with Old Bailey

---

[56] Trudy Cowley, *A drift of 'Derwent ducks' : lives of the 200 female Irish convicts transported on the Australasia from Dublin to Hobart in 1849* (Hobart, Tasmania: Research Tasmania, 2005). Lucy Frost, *Abandoned Women* (Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2012). Trudy Cowley, Dianne Snowden, and Research Tasmania, *Patchwork Prisoners : The Rajah Quilt and the women who made it* (Hobart, Tasmania: Research Tasmania, 2013).

[57] Ian Duffield and James Bradley, eds., *Representing Convicts : new perspectives on convict forced labour migration*, New historical perspectives on migration (London: Leicester University Press, 1997). Nicholas. Christopher and Maxwell-Stewart.

[58] Carceral Archipelago, "The Carceral Archipelago: Transnational Circulations in Global Perspective, 1415-1960," University of Leicester, https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/history/research/grants/CArchipelago.

[59] Anne Helmreich, Tim Hitchcock, and William J Turkel, "Rethinking inventories in the digital age: the case of the Old Bailey," *Journal of Art Historiography* 11 (2014).

[60] Godfrey, Inwood, and Maxwell-Stewart.

prisoners who were instead incarcerated in purpose-built British penitentiaries in order to compare the two systems of punishment. The Digital Panopticon has partnered with the Founders and Survivors project and integrates data drawn from the Tasmanian convict archives into this comparative analysis. The Founders and Survivors project is thus similarly positioned at this digital, quantitative, globally collaborative contemporary frontier of history.

Making convict history today

The Founders and Survivors project is a large-scale multidisciplinary research project funded by the Australian Research Council. It commenced in 2007 and is conducted by researchers located at the Universities of Tasmania, Flinders, Melbourne, New South Wales, Oxford and Australian National University, in partnership with the Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office.[61] The project's primary aim is to record and study the founding population of 73,000 men, women and children transported to Van Diemen's Land as convicts.[62] Of particular concern to the project are research questions around the life course and intergenerational effects of the convict system concerning health, mortality, mobility, recidivism and other social and economic patterns over time.[63]

One of the overarching aims of the project is to collect, digitally image and transcribe the Tasmanian convict records held in a variety of different archives in order to integrate this data into a fully searchable relational database. This process is still ongoing as more record sets are digitised and transcribed each year. The transcribed data is uploaded into the database and manipulated and organised through a range of text encoding, data handling and linkage techniques.[64] The database is prosopographical, where "individual life histories [of convicts] are synthesised from a variety of sources" allowing researchers to

[61] Bradley et al., 467.
[62] Founders and Survivors, "Founders and Survivors," http://foundersandsurvivors.org/.
[63] Bradley et al., 474.
[64] Ibid., 471.

combine these individuals to then study the population as a whole.[65] All of the information in the database can be linked back to its specific original source in the archives, a key aspect of best practice in developing prosopographical databases so as to not untether information from its archival origins. Even so, the risks of decontextualizing data within the database and through the searching process are significant and will be discussed at length in the final chapter of this thesis. Historians can search for individual convicts in the database in order to develop detailed life-course narratives based on a diverse range of sources linked to the one individual. By developing such an expansive digital database the Founders and Survivors project can also undertake the kind of large-scale analysis of the convict archives *en masse* that, prior to recent advances in computer technology, would have been impossible.

Carr suggests that no historical document can reveal anything more certain than "what the author of the document thought" or, perhaps more accurately, what the author "wanted others to think he [sic] thought."[66] However, when analysed *en masse* archives can be read "against the grain" to find patterns and attitudes that the authors may not have realised they were revealing.[67] The concept of reading against the grain arose out of historians using colonial archives to shed light on moments of resistance or agency by those documented in the archives – in this case the convicts. This is done through a process of reading the archives "from the bottom up" or "upside down," to reveal "the language of rule and the biases inherent in statist perceptions."[68] Reading against the grain is of course only possible once a reading has been done "along the grain" of the archive, to understand what it says and for what purpose. Understanding the purpose of the convict archives, and how this shapes the content of the archives, is therefore integral for Founders and Survivors project historians in analysing the archives.

Our contemporary concerns about "big data" find their roots in the first major data revolution that occurred in the nineteenth century, the original Golden Age

[65] Ibid., 469.
[66] Carr, 16.
[67] Stoler, 99.
[68] Ibid.

of Data.[69] British judicial and penal systems began to alter markedly in the late eighteenth century, gradually shifting more closely towards the systems we recognise in our society today. Policing practices became more centrally organised, prisons transitioned from holding sites to institutions for punishment and reform, and courtrooms became more procedural and less discretionary. A key aspect of this shift in the role and function of the judicial and penal spheres was an increased focus on recordkeeping practices. Judges began taking prior convictions into consideration when sentencing, which resulted in the recording of increasingly detailed offending histories and the growth of systems for circulating and storing this kind of data.[70] As penal institutions took on different roles within the wider system, offenders required tracking through the increasingly fluid punishment pathways between institutions. These carceral pathways included transportation to British colonies, and the colonies themselves then inherited and adapted these increasingly detailed and complex recordkeeping practices.[71]

The "memorable moments" of a convict's passage through the judicial and penal systems leave documentary traces that are embedded in several archival collections.[72] A convict's journey to the colonies first generated court, hulk and prison records. These are mostly located in British or Irish collections. The process of transforming an individual into a convict involved a series of "gateway rituals" including being "described, measured, interrogated, lectured at, washed, shaved, or shorn (and later in the nineteenth century photographed)".[73] These rituals and their documentation become part of the paper trail for each convict, which was then added to once the convict arrived in Australia.

The heart of the Van Demonian convict archives are the "black books," 226 volumes containing a record for nearly every convict including their police

[69] Tosh and Lang, 70.
[70] Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, "The State, Convicts and Longitudinal Analysis," *Australian Historical Studies* 47, no. 3 (2016): 414.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Godfrey, *Crime in England: 1880 - 1945*, 84.
[73] Maxwell-Stewart and Nicholson, 716.

number, place and date of trial, sentence and ship of arrival. These entries were updated throughout a convict's sentence, and sometimes well after, with information about misdemeanours, rewards, geographical locations and work assignments.[74] Van Diemen's Land was the first place within the wider British penal system where unique identifier numbers were incorporated into records for each individual, rendering Tasmania's convicts highly traceable across a range of records. As the centrepiece of the convict archives, these records can then be cross-referenced with a range of other convict related files like the journals kept by Surgeon Superintendents documenting convict health on board each transportation vessel, convict musters and lists of assignment, detailed physical descriptions of convicts, permission to marry registers, the colonial police gazettes and even colonial banking records.

Janet McCalman, one of the researchers on the Founders and Survivors project, highlights the scale and singularity of the Tasmanian convict archive. As she puts it:

> "No other society built by colonization and migration, has records that tell us names, families, places of birth, literacy, skills and training, religion and character, let alone the colour of eyes and hair, height, scars, moles and tattoos."[75]

In fact, the Tasmanian convict archives are "the most detailed nineteenth century source anywhere in the world for family history, bodies and the behaviour of ordinary men and women".[76] Of particular import is their documentation of working women for whom traditionally less documentary evidence is available. The historical and cultural value of the Tasmanian convict archives led to their being placed on the UNESCO Memory of the World register in 2007,

[74] Godfrey, Inwood, and Maxwell-Stewart.
[75] McCalman, "The Founders and Survivors Project: An overview," 6.
[76] Bradley et al., 468.

acknowledging their international significance, not just their importance to the history of Tasmania.[77]

The breadth and depth of the Tasmanian convict archives that makes them so unique and extraordinary also makes them so difficult to encapsulate in any single research publication – or any single creative interpretation. In creatively interpreting the Founders and Survivors project I aimed to interpret the overall nature and aims of the project as a whole and the creation and use of the database, but the project's published findings were too numerous and diverse to all be given equal consideration. Instead I chose three key Founders and Survivors project publications that I would primarily focus on.

The first was the book chapter, "Sickness and Death on convict voyages to Australia" (2014) by Hamish Maxwell-Stewart and Rebecca Kippen, which sheds new light on the different health outcomes for male and female convicts during the voyage and upon arrival in Van Diemen's Land.[78] The authors analyse data taken from the diaries of the Surgeon Superintendents who oversaw convicts' health and wellbeing on each transportation journey. They cross-reference this data with wider data about anything from a ship's size and age, to the density of passengers, to the experience level of the Surgeons themselves, in order to find which variables had a statistically significant effect on morbidity and mortality rates. One of their key findings is that the number of babies and children on a female convict ship correlated with higher morbidity and mortality rates. The authors posit that more babies and children meant a greater risk of dysentery and diarrhoeal disease, particularly in the later stages of the journey.

Maxwell-Stewart's book chapter, ""And All My Great Hardships Endured?" Irish Convicts in Van Diemen's Land" (2015), tests entrenched colonial prejudices about the behaviour of Irish convicts during and after sentence.[79] Maxwell-Stewart analyses the conduct registers of Irish convicts transported to Van

[77] National Committee of Australia.
[78] Maxwell-Stewart and Kippen.
[79] Maxwell-Stewart, ""And all my great hardships endured?" Irish convicts in Van Diemen's Land."

Diemen's Land between 1840 and 1853 and compares their sentences, punishment rates, time spent in probation gangs and likelihood to abscond alongside English convicts from the same period.[80] In order to trace Irish convicts' experiences after sentence Maxwell-Stewart compares the outcomes of convicts from "matched pairs" of English and Irish ships from the same years. His findings indicate that many of the dominant prejudices expressed in the media at the time and in documentation by the colonial administration about Irish convicts – as troublemakers or regular absconders – are not actually reflected in the data. He does find that Irish convicts had a comparatively harder time building stable lives post-sentence, suggesting the sway that these prejudices held within the wider community.

Finally, the article, "Prison and the Colonial Family" (2015) by Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, Kris Inwood and Jim Stankovich, investigates the influence the convict system might have had on the children of convicts born in the colony.[81] The authors outline the established relationship between adult height and childhood health and the various environmental insults that can result in stunted growth like poor nutrition, stress or lack of sunlight. They explain that the first few generations of Van Demonian-born children grew up in relatively advantageous environmental conditions, which resulted in them being markedly taller than their British-born parents and their British-born demographic peers. The researchers analyse thousands of height measurements recorded in the colonial police gazettes, cross-referencing them with other known data about the individuals, in order to explore the variables that had an effect on the height of the colonially born, including place of birth or father's occupation. The question at the heart of their research asks whether the children of convicts were at a health disadvantage compared to the children of free settlers. The authors are essentially testing the physical impact of the convict stain. Their somewhat

[80] Between 1820 and 1840 convict ships departing from Irish ports were all sent to the colony of New South Wales. Focusing on the post-1840s period also allowed the author to analyse pre- and post-Famine experiences for Irish and English convicts.
[81] Maxwell-Stewart, Inwood, and Stankovich.

surprising findings indicate that the children of convicts were more likely to be taller than the mean, making them more likely to be at a health advantage.

In considering the scale of the Founders and Survivors project and the Tasmanian convict archive, I chose publications that covered different aspects of convict history over different time periods so that, as a trio, the publications would reflect this scale and be somewhat representative of the Founders and Survivors project as a whole. In this way my methods mirror the quantitative historian's in making a data sample "representative," by attempting to ensure that "every variable is fairly represented in the sample".[82] These three publications collectively represent some of the key phases of the convict experience: the transportation journey, work and punishment under sentence, freedom, and life after sentence in the form of family or recidivism. They also discuss the different phases of the convict system, collectively covering a period from 1803 to 1899. They highlight the way a convict's individual experience under sentence was significantly influenced by their gender, ethnicity, age and skill-set, comparing in detail the specific experiences of male and female convicts and Irish and English convicts. However, just as the historian selects particular periods or subjects for closer study, at the exclusion of others, so too did I exclude a whole host of Founders and Survivors publications from my focus by selecting these three. For example, I did not choose any publications that discuss conviction and sentencing in any great detail.

While best practice for a quantitative historian often means taking a representative sample that is also "random," with "every element" having "equal chance of being included," my three publications were clearly not selected at random from the Founders and Survivors canon.[83] The practice of history is anything but static – the very existence of quantitative history reflects the fact that historians' attitudes and methodologies change over time. The Founders and Survivors researchers' own place and time plays a vital role in making their findings, as does my own place and time in reading their outputs and engaging

[82] Tosh and Lang, 269.
[83] Ibid.

with the convict archive. As such, I limited my choice to outputs that were published contemporaneously with my own research – from 2014 onwards. This meant that the Founders and Survivors researchers' place and time was roughly similar to my own and I was engaging with the outputs as a member of the audience they were directly intended for. It also ensured that the research methods and computational techniques used would be as up to date as possible.

A common denominator between all three is that all were authored or co-authored by Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, one of the chief investigators on the Founders and Survivors project who was also my primary supervisor. It is common practice in a range of fields for a PhD candidate to undertake research that is in some way connected to the research of their supervisor.[84] By embedding myself within the Founders and Survivors project for the duration of this research, rather than undertaking my research externally from a distance, I gained a comprehensive "backstage" understanding of the methods and systems used by the Founders and Survivors team, and this understanding was deepened by my having access to one of the authors of my chosen publications.

Whilst I was mindful of the value of considering the researchers' process and intentions, my singular, personal reading of each of the publications was of great importance. My final selection criteria involved assessing each publication through a phenomenological lens, considering the meanings and responses each generated in me upon reading it.[85] I reflected upon narrative, characters, imagery, and whether the publication presented any unique creative challenges. The task of making accessible the idea that height data could be used as a measure of childhood environmental conditions appealed to me in "Prison and the Colonial Family," as did the detailed life-course narrative of son-of-a-convict Seth Marley who came across as a remarkably interesting character. In "And all my great hardships endured…" I was struck by the diversity of questions the researchers asked of the data – from bushranging, to marriage to recidivism –

[84] Any potential, however unlikely, conflicts of interest were mitigated by the fact that my supervision team also comprised of two supervisors not connected in any way to the Founders and Survivors project.
[85] States, 27.

giving me opportunities to branch off in a range of different narrative directions. In "Sickness and Death…" the non-linear narrative analysing which variables had an effect on health outcomes read to me like a classic mystery narrative, with clues being considered and discounted until the researchers narrowed down "whodunit." One of the great benefits of being physically and conceptually embedded within the Founders and Survivors project for my research was that I maintained an acute awareness that these publications were written by archival historians *for* archival historians. This meant that they included specific representational practices and reflected a particular way of critically engaging with sources.

Writing history, as with any kind of academic writing, requires providing a traceable path for readers linking back to the sources that the argument has been built upon. This path is laid through referencing, and the historian's reference breadcrumbs might be a mix of original archival material and research publications by other historians. For the archival historian this is not just a representational practice for the medium that they write in but is a fundamental aspect of the practice of history itself. References to sources are not, as historian Tom Griffiths warns, signs of "pedantry," but rather "honest expressions of vulnerability," leaving "generous signposts to anyone who wants to retrace the path and test the insights [and] acknowledgements of the collective enterprise that is history."[86] History is a collective enterprise because of the shared methods used by historians in working with that "relentless critique of the sources", accompanied by an active and open expectation that others will analyse that critique.[87] This analysis is done through a formal process of peer review and through the critical lens that any historian applies to the works of their peers in constructing their own argument. All three of the Founders and Survivors publications have undergone a peer review process, which no doubt raised questions about their respective methodologies and interpretations of the sources that would have been addressed before publication. Leaving a traceable

[86] Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel*, 131.
[87] Ibid., 264.

path through the sources allows an historian's particular analysis to be tested for accuracy and sense, and perhaps even challenged.

The value of a traceable path can be demonstrated by the controversy surrounding the work of David Irving, who in 2000 defended his interpretation of historical sources about the Holocaust in a court of law. The court found that Irving had "flouted accepted research methods" and "manipulated the evidence to suit his political prejudices".[88] This was discoverable because, when checking his work, other historians found that his breadcrumbs and his written path did not match. Closer to home, Australian historian Henry Reynolds has sought to maintain "strict professional standards" in his research into the highly political and divisive subject of colonial frontier violence and Aboriginal genocide.[89] To allow his own findings to best stand up to the analysis and scrutiny of his peers, Reynolds has worked hard to become the kind of historian who is, according to Griffiths, "empiricist, rational, highly structured, heavily evidenced, reinforcing and repetitive, professionally conservative" and "accessible to the courts."[90] While most historians likely do not give much thought to their research being "accessible to the courts," their work is only considered by their peers to be history if their interpretation of the sources is accessible for other historians to check, through clear and consistent referencing. Returning again to Griffiths: "[h]istorians always have at least two stories to tell: what we think happened, and how we know what we think happened" and for a work to be recognised as archival history by other historians the "what" cannot exist without the "how."[91]

The sources that an archival historian references and uses to build their interpretation of the past must be authenticated. "Authenticity" is a loaded, multifaceted term, and its application and definition differ markedly between disciplines. For an historian, testing a source for authenticity means to assess "[a]re the author, the place and the date of writing what they purport to be?"[92]

---

[88] Tosh and Lang, xiv.
[89] Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel*, 138.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid., 272.
[92] Tosh and Lang, 93.

The Tasmanian convict archives have been rigorously authenticated and widely researched and their admission to the UNESCO Memory of the World register formalises their authenticity, provenance and consistency. [93]

Once a source has been externally authenticated it behoves an historian to explore its internal reliability in terms of whether the author of the source is in a position to present information accurately. Despite containing a wealth of detailed information relating to individual convicts, the Tasmanian convict archives are incomplete, subjective and highly mediated records of convict lived experiences. To begin with, the various convict archival sources differ markedly in the relationship particular authors have to the content they have written in regards to time. Whilst documents like the journals of the Surgeon Superintendents used in "Sickness and Death…" are written concurrently with the convict voyage, and the permission to marry records used in "Prison and the Colonial Family" reflect real-time administrative procedures, other documents like the conduct registers drawn on in "And all my great hardships endured…" represent information recorded post-event, rewritten, or added to at different periods by different authors.[94]

After assessing the author of the source's relationship to the content, an historian then has to ask what might have influenced the author to write it, because "very few forms of writing arise solely from a desire to convey the unvarnished truth".[95] The convict archive needs to be treated with care because, like all historical data, it "is a product of the cultural, political and social forces" that shaped its creation and its use.[96] Recognising the inherent bias in any and every source does not necessarily mean that a source is not useful, but it does mean it must be read within its greater context. The convict archive represents the official documentation recorded by the state to catalogue, value and track

[93] National Committee of Australia.
[94] Maxwell-Stewart and Kippen, 49. Maxwell-Stewart, Inwood, and Stankovich, 242. Maxwell-Stewart, ""And all my great hardships endured?" Irish convicts in Van Diemen's Land," 70.
[95] Tosh and Lang, 99.
[96] Maxwell-Stewart, "The State, Convicts and Longitudinal Analysis," 419.

convicts throughout the convict system, which was then used to both maintain and justify the convict system itself. The records represent only the limited details that the state chose to record about these men and women, and the content is profoundly shaped by an overarching view of the convicts as "Other."[97] It is absolutely vital for an historian to consider the archives within this original context.

In their analysis of the well-documented experiences of the convict Alexander Anderson, historians Hamish Maxwell-Stewart and James Bradley acknowledge that "the one person whose voice remains most elusive, who hardly speaks for himself at all, is Alexander."[98] Simon Schama similarly frames the lot of the historian as being "doomed to be forever hailing someone who has just gone round the corner and out of earshot."[99] Historians today know that to take the convict archives on face-value as some kind of true or complete record of lived experience would be inappropriate. Shared accepted conventions like the need to draw upon multiple sources and perspectives also help to safeguard historians against uncritically considering archival information as reliable documentation of lived experience.

The Founders and Survivors historians employ a range of quantitative and statistical analysis techniques to actively unpick the unreliability of the archive in order to read it "against the grain". There is a general certainty that the Surgeon Superintendents' journals were written by the surgeons themselves whilst on board transportation vessels in order to document convicts' health. However, they are typical of all historical sources in being "incomplete, messy" and often "contradictory" and thus "seldom allow for certainty" as a complete record of a surgeon's dealings with sickness during the voyage.[100] In "Sickness

[97] Wilson, "Australian Prison Tourism: A Question of Narrative Integrity," 566.
[98] James Bradley and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, "Alexander and the Mother of Invention," in *Chain Letters: Narrating Convict Lives*, ed. Lucy Frost and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart (Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 195.
[99] Simon Schama 1991 in Chris Ward, "Impressions of the Somme," in *Experiments in Rethinking History*, ed. Alun Munslow and Robert A. Rosenstone (Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2004), 106.
[100] Gilderhus, 3.

and Death…" researchers tested this uncertainty about whether Surgeon Superintendents actually wrote down every case of sickness on board by examining whether the amount of information, or type of information that they recorded was influenced by different conditions, such as the number of voyages they had undertaken.[101] They found a positive correlation between the amount of recordkeeping and the experience level of the surgeon, with more experienced surgeons recording less cases of sickness. By then analysing the specific types of sickness that were documented, the authors surmised that, rather than indicating that more experienced surgeons were better at keeping their patients healthy, more experienced surgeons were perhaps less inclined to record information about trivial or less serious illnesses. Whilst all of the Founders and Survivors research must be underpinned by an acknowledgement of the archive's uncertainty and unreliability as a true record of the past, their use of quantitative analysis techniques and analysing the archives *en masse* allows them to shed new light on why and in what form this unreliability might take.

In order to analyse data *en masse* quantitative historians first need to gather their data. Sometimes archives come equipped with ready-made tables of statistics that historians can analyse but more often than not the quantitative historian must mine the data from the sources themselves. In doing this it is important for the Founders and Survivors researchers to test various record sets for comparability and whether they are measuring the same variable in the same way over time.[102] This kind of testing can be seen in "Prison and the Colonial Family" where multiple record sets containing height data were compared to ascertain whether subjects were being measured with their shoes on or off.[103] By comparing multiple data sources in this way researchers can gauge whether the sources are comparable and can be integrated together to build a larger sample. Whilst larger sample sizes can often provide more statistically significant results, if there are too many differences in the types of data making up a sample then the findings become less meaningful.

---

[101] Maxwell-Stewart and Kippen, 49.
[102] Tosh and Lang, 268.
[103] Maxwell-Stewart, Inwood, and Stankovich, 238.

Finding that two record sets are not comparable can deny a researcher the chance to combine and measure sources by the same criteria, but it can also open up new avenues of enquiry for a researcher keen to explore their differences. There are a number of different record sets that document convicts' work skills that contain marked differences in the types of skills recorded for the same individuals. Comparing these differences within the context that each source was made in – for example information about a convict taken pre-transportation and then later in preparing a convict to be assigned to a master – can provide insight into how the records were made or what systems of thought shaped them. The differences might reflect a convict's assumptions about what skills might be most in demand in the growing colony, the colonial administration's agenda in only recording the skills that they deemed valuable in a particular context, or a need to locate a convict within a wider class system. [104]

Quantitative historians are not just bound by the expected professional standards of the archival historian but also the statistician. Founders and Survivors historians employ statistical methods like the use of a control group, the process of re-running data to check for errors, comparison with similar studies and maintaining a distinction between the independent and dependent variables. The researchers also acknowledge the limitations of their methods in relation to particular findings. For example, in "Prison and the Colonial Family" the authors discuss the limitations of tracing the children of convicts through the permission to marry registers in that it renders invisible the illegitimate children of convicts or children born to convicts who married after receiving their freedom.[105]

Quantitative findings are usually descriptive rather than explanatory, so the Founders and Survivors researchers must analyse their findings to make sense of them, because merely "[t]o plot a trend, or to demonstrate a statistical

[104] Maxwell-Stewart, "The State, Convicts and Longitudinal Analysis," 421.
[105] Maxwell-Stewart, Inwood, and Stankovich, 246.

correlation between this trend and another, does not *explain* it."[106] Attributing causes to events or experiences, be they latent, long term, preconditions, triggers or precipitants, is a key aspect of any historian's practice.[107] For example in "Sickness and Death…" the disastrous outcomes for the Second Fleet are interpreted as a trigger for a restructure of the systems used to manage convicts' health on later voyages.[108] In a quantitative history context where a variable might be determined to be statistically significant (much like an "event" in history might be deemed significant) a cause then has to be attributed to that particular variable's significance. Where the historian might identify a number of causes, the task is then to place them within a hierarchy and apply "the right standard of significance" for them.[109]

One of the most useful kinds of statistical inference is the coefficient of correlation, where researchers find a correlating relationship between two variables, for example, a child's height and their father's profession. However, as with any historical research it is important to note that these relationships are not ironclad. Drawing a connection between two variables must be done cautiously and the concept of *post hoc propter hoc*, an integral consideration for all historians, is vital in discussions of correlation for quantitative historians. Just "[b]ecause B came after A" it "does not mean that A *caused* B."[110]

Sometimes two variables might correlate out of coincidence. Detailed physical descriptions were assembled for most of the convicts transported to Van Diemen's Land, which included documentation of scars and tattoos. The likelihood of a colonially born individual being short might correlate with particular tattoos on their father's body. Logic suggests it would be misleading to attribute a child's height to their father's tattoos. Historians can also not always be sure which variable is influencing the other: fathers might have particular tattoos *because* they have short children (rather than the other way around).

[106] Tosh and Lang, 280.
[107] Carr, 88.
[108] Maxwell-Stewart and Kippen, 44.
[109] Carr, 123.
[110] Tosh and Lang, 153..

There might be a third variable involved, in this case particular tattoos might be related to the father's profession or the child's place of birth and it is in fact these variables that have a profound effect on a child's height, not the tattoos. It is also integral for the Founders and Survivors researchers to be mindful of all of the information *not* recorded in the convict archives – whilst physical scars and marks might have been recorded, and even then only at particular moments in a convict's life, there are limited records for less visible variables like mental illness or the prevalence of miscarriages. These variables are unknowable and often unquantifiable but might have had a significant influence on a subject of enquiry.

Despite using such highly specialised methods the Founders and Survivors historians actively acknowledge that their research is only ever *an* interpretation, rather than *the* interpretation. They do this by openly discussing methodological limitations and it is also reflected in the type of language used in the three publications. The authors describe their methods using technical terms specific to the practices of statistical analysis, quantitative history and archival history in order to limit ambiguity about how they reached their findings. Findings are themselves explained using relatively cautious language that implies they are not indisputable, might indeed be challenged or revised by other historians with different information or methods, and should not be applied elsewhere or decontextualised from the specific methods and sources of that particular research. The publications all follow a similar overall structure with a literature review or backgrounding to the subject that establishes a key research question or questions, a discussion of methods and sources used and then an explanation of findings. All three articles are peppered with in-text or footnoted references to archival material and the work of other historians, linking the authors' interpretation to the material that it is based upon. The specificity of the language and structure and the need for referencing reflects the particular audience that these three publications have been written for: other historians. If the same findings are presented as positivist "facts," without references, they will not be accepted as a work of academic archival history. History can therefore be framed as both a practice and a medium.

I explored the boundaries of archival history as a medium by filming myself reading aloud "Sickness and Death on convict voyages to Australia" verbatim so that I could reflect upon how the content might shift when the medium changed. This task raised a number of valuable questions for my praxis in relation to choice of medium, length (this filmed reading took over forty minutes), structure, language, narrative and character. Germane to this particular discussion were two significant problems. The first was that, when only spoken allowed, I could not communicate with adequate accuracy or sense the graphs and tables in the publication. Historians regularly rely upon visual methods of communicating data like maps, graphs or tables and include these in publications or presentations in their primary (visual) form because they cannot be comprehensively explained in words alone.[111] Historians clearly recognise the specificity of particular mediums in their own practice and the loss of information or detail that comes when the medium shifts.

My second realisation was what happened with the referencing in "Sickness and Death…" when read aloud. Written references do not need to be explicitly read word-for-word in a reader's mind in order to impart their meaning. For many regular readers of archival history they act as symbolic breadcrumbs that can be followed at a height, without disrupting the flow of reading. If a reader is particularly curious about the path being laid they can get down on their hands and knees and observe the breadcrumb more closely by following up that particular source. All of the information required to do this is embedded within a written work of archival history like "Sickness and Death…" allowing the interpretation to be traceable and contestable. However, when these references were read aloud along with the rest of the text they very quickly became confusing and jarring, disrupting the flow and sense of the authors' argument. When I removed the references from my spoken interpretation for the sake of accessibility then the breadcrumbs disappeared, and the work no longer had a

[111] It is for the same reasons that my "symbolic data" (my creative interpretations) have been included in this thesis rather than just a description of them.

traceable path through the sources. It was no longer history following the expected professional standards of the archival historian. Of course an audience member watching my filmed reading need only return to the written text in order to trace the source, but in that case it is the written text that is history, not the filmed reading aloud of that written text. Archival history is therefore both a practice of engaging with the past by using particular methods as well as a medium with specific representational practices and systems of meaning.

Communicating History

Many historians are themselves highly skilled communicators and are adept at tailoring their research to wider audiences through public lectures and workshops, in historical documentaries on television and in popular unreferenced non-fiction books. Most archival historians are quick to also highlight the significant shifts in form and content required to communicate history through these mediums. Peter Beck notes that the response to most television histories from the historian community is: "It's nice, but it ain't history."[112] I would argue that the same is true for conference papers delivered at academic conferences. The work of history itself is the written publication, the conference paper is a method of communicating it.

The need to alter the medium that an historian presents their research in when communicating with wider audiences reflects the finding that historical outputs, like the three publications I have chosen, are rarely engaged with first-hand beyond an historian's immediate peers. The majority of Australians, like British audiences, gain an understanding of history through its interpretation through other mediums like films, television series, plays, novels and heritage sites.[113] This means that whilst they engage with the past they glean only a second-hand understanding of history – one that very often bears only a slim resemblance to history as practised by historians. History is just one way of engaging with the

[112] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 104.
[113] "For historians, even 'historians of a postmodernist kind', 'presentation' is the word," 430.

past, and as Carr reminded historians in the 1960s, "excellent books can be written about the past which are not history."[114]

The key aspects that define the Founders and Survivors project as archival history – including an understanding of history as interpretative, sources as unreliable, and references as indispensable – can become obstacles for non-historians reading their outputs. The cautious language used by historians can limit the possibilities for narrative-based drama or emotional engagement because, rather than recreating emotional moments or leaving intriguing ambiguities, the authors have a vested interest in presenting a clear, well-supported and testable argument. The references that they use to support this argument might be perceived as jarring, disrupting the flow of writing – as I found in my experiment. The need to build a logical and traceable argument can often require the inclusion of multiple perhaps seemingly superfluous or tedious steps, rather than merely jumping straight to an historian's exciting new findings. In reading aloud "Sickness and Death…" I waded through an extensive discussion of background history before reaching the authors' findings.

Quantitative history also often depends on the testing of a research question or hypothesis, which can result in a non-linear narrative. "Qualitative" archival history, when practised by contemporary historians, similarly does not often lend itself to single narratives or uni-linear time. This can prove problematic for non-historian readers more comfortable with linear storytelling techniques with a clear beginning, middle and satisfyingly conclusive end. Quantitative history similarly requires the discussion of large sample sizes and group identities rather than following individual narratives, which can be alienating for many readers more used to character-based storytelling. All historians write with practice-specific terminology, but only a minority within the wider historian community comfortably understands the statistical analysis methods and terminology used by quantitative historians, which can render the texts nigh unreadable in a public context.

[114] Carr, 48.

Founders and Survivors researchers might also struggle to communicate their findings to non-historians because of the *content* of their findings, in that contemporary historians often push against long held or "cherished" myths about the past.[115] Foundation myths can support ways of seeing not just history, but a sense of personal or collective identity, and findings that question those myths also call into question that sense of identity. Tosh and Lang are quick to assert that an historical myth is not necessarily "false," but rather a "simplistic, usually rosy, version of events."[116] In discussing Australian military history, Craig Stockings labels the notoriously resilient historical myths as "zombie myths" – myths that are particularly hard to kill. Like zombies they can also be quite dangerous if they "situate our attitudes to the past falsely" in ways that can then "distort our reading of the present and expectations for the future."[117]

By the time historians started seriously interrogating Tasmanian convict history in the late twentieth century they were pushing against a resilient strand of folklore and storytelling that had begun almost as soon as transportation ended. Nineteenth-century tourists regularly visited ruined or repurposed convict sites like Port Arthur with a spirit of curiosity, keen for gothic tales of imprisonment.[118] These mostly macabre stories then pervaded wider national and international discourse about Tasmania's convict past. One of the most lasting and influential texts ever written about Tasmania's convict past was Marcus Clarke's 1870-72 fictionalised serial *For the Term of His Natural Life.* In writing it, Clarke drew on some archival historical research, but dosed his narrative heavily with action, adventure, romance and narrative hooks to keep the readers reading week by week. His serial became a novel in 1874 and was later adapted for film, stage and television. [119] Clarke's version of the Tasmanian convict system was one of constant and unrelenting punishment and pain.

---

[115] T.E Linenthal and T Englehardt, eds., *History Wars: The Enola Gay and other battles for the American Past* (New York: DWL Books, 1996), 5.
[116] Tosh and Lang, 5.
[117] Craig Stockings, ed. *Zombie Myths of Australian Military History* (NSW, Australia: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 3.
[118] Young, 49.
[119] Marcus Clarke, *For the Term of His Natural Life* (Hobart: Drinkwater Publishing, 1874 / 1984).

Historians today can disprove in any number of ways that Clarke's narrative was representative of the dominant convict experience. However, the idea that convicts lived lives that were characterised by constant punishment and pain has remained one of Tasmania's most resilient zombie myths.

Following *For the Term of His Natural Life* it was widely thought that Van Diemen's Land was where the "worst" convicts were sent, making it a kind of "convict's hell," thus justifying the punishment narrative.[120] Historians can find no clear distinction between the types of convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land compared to New South Wales, apart from the two decade cessation of Irish ships to Van Diemen's Land and the internal transportation of recidivists within the colonies with many ending up in Van Diemen's Land's secondary punishment sites. Only one in six Van Demonian convicts actually spent time at Port Arthur, and prior to the building of the Separate Prison and its psychologically brutal system of isolated confinement, Port Arthur did not resemble a prison in the contemporary sense at all, but rather a kind of labour camp for the likes of timber production, ship building and shoemaking.[121]

Eleanor Casella and Clayton Frederickson suggest that Australians have an ongoing fascination with an "*imagined* convict past" which is supported by the prominence of heritage sites associated with incarceration and punishment.[122] The propensity for sites and objects associated with punishment and pain to be preserved over more everyday sites and objects, skewing and perpetuating the punishment narrative, has been much discussed by heritage critics.[123] As has the notion that the punishment narrative privileges discussion of the male convict experience over the female and obscures the wider economic or social machinations of the system as a whole.[124] New perspectives in convict history in the second half of the twentieth century also heralded the recognition of

---

[120] Alexander, 256.
[121] Boyce, 173. Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, "'The Lottery of Life': Convict Tourism at Port Arthur Historic Site, Australia," *Prison Service Journal*, no. 210 (2013).
[122] Casella and Fredericksen, 105.
[123] Daniels, "Cults of Nature: Cults of History." Maxwell-Stewart and Nicholson.
[124] Daniels, *Convict Women*, 243.

previously overlooked convict sites like the convict-built Great North Road in New South Wales or private farms in Tasmania like Woolmers that had employed assigned convict servants. [125] Despite this, sites of physical incarceration still dominate heritage listings.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries public perceptions of Australia's convicts were that they were all professional criminals, supposedly rendering them poor founding stock. As public attitudes towards historical crime shifted in the second half of the twentieth century to engage with the social and economic systemic causes of crime, and the "convict stain" began to fade, public perception shifted to the idea of convicts being wholly wronged poverty-stricken folk. Yet again this belies the complexity of the range of crimes convicts were transported for, and also maintains a focus on the actual crime that a convict committed, keeping the lens firmly zoomed in on the deserving/undeserving nature of a convict as opposed to the system that benefited from that convict's labour. Jacqueline Wilson notes the way operational prison systems depend on being able to "other" inmates as a homogenous mass of criminals, which deems them "all equally wicked" and thus "equally deserving" of their experience of imprisonment. [126] Contemporary historians have begun to counter this deserving/undeserving narrative in a convict context by unpicking the various factors like gender, ethnicity, work skills, and economic supply and demand that appear to have wielded far more influence over a convict's experience while under sentence than the nature of the crime they were transported for.

One of the other key myths about convict history is the role of women. Although many female convicts had practised prostitution in some capacity, being "on the town" was not a transportable offence. A great many assumptions have been made about convict women based on the erroneous idea that they were transported for prostitution offences. Historian Lloyd Robson described female convicts as "not the sort of women to attract men into marriage" and A.G.L Shaw noted that "the picture [female convicts] presented is a singularly unattractive

[125] UNESCO.
[126] Wilson, "Australian Prison Tourism: A Question of Narrative Integrity," 567.

one."[127] There is also a counter narrative that they were sent to the colonies primarily for the purpose of being wives.[128] Both stereotypes reduce convict women to sexual objects and examines them only in terms of their relationships with men, ignoring the attitudes, beliefs and skills they brought to the colony as migrants and workers. The complex interplay between individual agency and the manner in which colonial administrators attempted to keep convict women in the workplace by forcibly removing their children and policing their sexuality lies at the heart of much Founders and Survivors research.

In the case of Tasmania's convict past such zombie myths could hardly be characterised as "rosy" foundation myths, but like all myths they nonetheless serve a social function.[129] The representation of a brutal or criminal convict past serves as a valuable foil to the perceived successes of contemporary Australia and the timeline of progress and "upward mobility" that many Australians chart from invasion.[130] Narratives of punishment and brutality are similarly often used in a penal heritage context to demonstrate just how far contemporary society has come from that penal past.[131] There is also a recognised public fascination with the macabre in a dark tourism context, which perpetuates demand for the convict punishment narrative. In a bid for increased visitation, penal heritage sites often try to meet visitor expectations by emphasising "darkness, terror and violence" and "gothic myth" over other aspects of penal life like tedium, solitude or routine.[132] The celebration of Australia's criminal beginnings and the ongoing casting of convicts *as criminals* (as opposed to as workers or forced migrants) also supports wider "myths" of Australia as a "tolerant" nation where even from the worst beginnings an individual can come good, and an "egalitarian" nation

[127] Reid, 3.
[128] Ibid., 94. Ruth Teale, ed. *Colonial Eve: Sources on Women in Australia 1788-1914* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), 31-32.
[129] Stockings, 4.
[130] Daniels, "Cults of Nature: Cults of History," 5.
[131] Walby and Piché, 452.
[132] Godfrey, *Crime in England: 1880 - 1945*, 98.

where dissent against the establishment is respected.[133] By casting convicts as colonial victims it also erroneously misdirects accountability for the frontier violence, land dispossession and attempted genocide of Indigenous Australian cultures towards the administration, rather than the general public. The Founders and Survivors researchers actively push against and counter many of the long held received myths about the convict system that many members of the public may not, either consciously or subconsciously, wish to part with.

There clearly are a number of obstacles for the Founders and Survivors researchers to overcome in order to communicate their research findings with non-historians. Despite this, they have a vested interest in doing so. By engaging wider audiences they can increase the potential for their research to have an impact on the community, can make space for new perspectives, collaborations or contributions to research, and an emphasis on communication and community engagement can be incredibly valuable from a research funding perspective. The rapidly growing family history industry and the millions who engage with online digital genealogical databases would also no doubt find their genealogical research enriched by a greater understanding of contemporary archival historical practices and research findings.

It is not just the wider communication of historical research that benefits an historian, but also the communication of their research through creative interpretation. Many historians find themselves frustrated at creative interpretations that perpetuate myths or assumptions about the past that run counter to contemporary historical findings. In light of the public's inclination to engage with creative interpretations over works of archival history, the historian's fight against these myths cannot be waged through the practice of archival history alone. If creative interpretations themselves draw heavily upon relevant, recent archival history in a way that communicates these new findings to audiences then it might push against those myths more effectively. The key to

[133] Dawn Casey, "Cultural Institutions as Custodians : Reflections of a National Museum Director," in *Memory, Monuments and Museums: The past in the present*, ed. Marilyn Lake (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 2006), 119.

my research is that caveat: "in a way." When a creative interpretation does not appear to communicate contemporary research it is not necessarily because the interpreter has not engaged with the findings of historians. I argue in this thesis that the cause for this dissonance largely lies in the process of creative interpretation itself. By being more familiar with the conditions and complexities of this process, many of which are investigated in this thesis, historians might more effectively collaborate with creative interpreters in the future to communicate their findings.

The first key to this is acknowledging the vast differences in content and medium between history and creative interpretation. To return to Beck's "[i]t's nice, but it ain't history," creative interpretation is, in this research, definitively not history.[134] While writing her Australian convict-era historical novel, *The Secret River* (2005), Kate Grenville saw herself faced with two choices in deciding between writing history and writing a fictional novel: "I could either write a truthful book that would be so dull as to be unreadable, or I could write a made-up book that might be read but not believed".[135] Here Grenville equates an archival evidence-based book with "truth," when perhaps an historian aware of their own interpretative lens would not frame it in such bald terms, but more importantly her suggestion that archival history might be "dull" and "unreadable" reflects the particular criteria that she is using to measure it. What Grenville frames as *wie es eigentlich gewesen* is actually a highly subjective interpretation.

The greater problem here is Grenville's direct comparison of history and fiction to begin with. To return to the quantitative historian's notion of comparable sources, here Grenville is measuring both by the same criteria without taking into account the vast differences between the two. They represent entirely different ways of engaging with the past, developed in different contexts, for different purposes and using different methods. To pit them against each other

---

[134] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 104.
[135] Kate Grenville, *Searching for the Secret River* (Melbourne: Text Publishing Company, 2006), 154.

directly, to have history and fiction stalk one another across "the fields of the past" with only one victor, ignores how incredibly significant those differences are, how nuanced, interpretative and rigorous the practice of history is, and how starkly different the aims and methods of creative interpretation are.[136] By establishing in this chapter what history means for my praxis, I can confidently argue that none of my creative interpretations are history. However, a creative interpretation is not just *not history*, it *is* something of its very own as well.

[136] Lake, 43.

CHAPTER 4 Questioning Authority

Exploring the relationship between history and a creative interpretation

Shifting authority in my past practice

In 2014 at the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences in Sydney (Australia) I developed *Cogs' Flight Show*, a museum theatre production performed in the school holidays aimed at children aged four to eight. The play was commissioned to commemorate the centenary of the first airmail flight in Australia, undertaken in a Bleriot XI monoplane that is now on display at the museum. At its core, *Cogs' Flight Show* was a creative interpretation of the museum's aviation exhibition and was designed as an entry point to that exhibition for young audiences. It was performed in a room next door to the exhibition, and it was expected that the play would refer to the exhibition and make connections between the aircraft discussed in the play and the aircraft on display. This meant that the relationship between the play and the exhibition was made explicit for the audience.

In this museum theatre context I was, strictly speaking, developing a creative interpretation of heritage, not history, because I was interpreting an exhibition which itself was an interpretation of artefacts and archival history. I did draw heavily upon the archival research that underpinned the exhibition, but I always did so through the established lens of the exhibition. Any outside research I did also supported the narrative and source selection choices that had already been made by the museum's curatorial team. What is key in this example is not so much the nature of the source that I was interpreting – whether it was history or heritage – but the relationship I perceived my creative interpretation had to this source material.

During the process of developing *Cogs' Flight Show* I perceived there to be a hierarchical relationship between the exhibition and the play, with a sense of authority vested in the exhibition and the historical research that had been

undertaken to create the exhibition. I considered my creative interpretation to be secondary and supplementary to the exhibition and this source material.

The consequences of this hierarchy were that whilst the play provided new perspectives or entry points for the exhibition it did not contradict or subvert the existing narrative and historical findings underpinning the exhibition and, where possible, the exhibition was referred to and deferred to as the authority. I perceived this to be a wholly suitable relationship between my creative interpretation and the exhibition because a creative interpretation like a work of museum theatre is usually developed to actively support "particular education aims of the museum."[1] These aims can be explicitly made through curriculum links or the museum's strategic goals or, as in this case, can be implicit within exhibition narratives and interpretation strategies.

However, it was when I began developing creative interpretations of history in a theatre context, not a museum theatre context, that I found myself questioning my understanding of this hierarchy. *Trouble and Strife* (2014) was developed as an emotionally evocative, political and humorous engagement with the past that attempted to challenge the way First World War history has been written in Australia by focusing on the experiences of women on the home-front during the war. In developing *Trouble and Strife* for secondary school audiences, to be performed in theatre spaces at schools, I was working with a different age group and was no longer interpreting an established narrative in a museum context. Despite these differences there was much that was similar in the development of *Trouble and Strife* compared to *Cogs' Flight Show*.

Co-creator Ashton Malcolm and I drew heavily on the work of particular historians including Patsy Adam-Smith and Miriam Dixson, which meant we were basing our creative interpretation on specific historical source material, just as I had done for *Cogs' Flight Show*. Our relationship with the sources was this time informal – these historians did not know we were using their work as research material, and unless we made an explicit connection in the play neither

[1] de Groot, *Consuming History*, 119.

would our audience. Like a work of museum theatre, *Trouble and Strife* was also driven by educational aims and was developed in response to a gap in the South Australian school curriculum relating to the discussion of women on the Australian home-front during the First World War. The aim of the play was to insert this missing narrative in an educational context and, in a similar fashion to *Cogs' Flight Show*, provide an entry point to this history for younger audiences.

The crucial difference here between *Trouble and Strife* and *Cogs' Flight Show* was in the relationship we perceived the creative interpretation had to the source material we were interpreting. *Trouble and Strife* co-creator Ashton Malcolm and I chose not to invest an overarching sense of authority in the historians' work that we had gathered during our research.

The consequences of this were that we instead made creative choices that critiqued, subverted and contradicted the historians' findings, and often chose our own imagined versions of narratives or perspectives instead of existing versions already provided by historians or found in the archives. We privileged what we perceived as the dramaturgical needs of the play over a need to support and accurately represent the findings of historians. We also did not make direct reference in the play to the historical research that we had drawn upon, rendering the role of those historians largely invisible to the audience.

This shifting relationship in my past practice informed the principal question underpinning this research: what is the relationship between history and a creative interpretation? Should a creative interpretation cede authority to history, as I did in *Cogs' Flight Show*? If it should, how then do I understand the different kind of relationship that *Trouble and Strife* had with history?

The differences between *Cogs' Flight Show* and *Trouble and Strife* are not insignificant. One was developed as a site-specific work of museum theatre, the other for touring theatre. As independent artists developing *Trouble and Strife*, even in an educational context, we were not answerable to any obvious higher authority in the way that I was when developing museum theatre commissioned

by the museum. The audience demographics were different, so were the types of educational aims (although they both were developed for the purpose of being educational) and, finally, so was the kind of source material being drawn upon – one singular exhibition narrative as opposed to a bricolage of historical research.

It is worth considering the possibility of an alternate version of *Trouble and Strife*. I might have developed *Trouble and Strife* with an explicit acknowledgment of the historical research being drawn upon and at all times deferring to and referring to this history as the authority. I suggest the possibility of this imagined alternate version because it demonstrates that the differences in context between *Cogs' Flight Show* and *Trouble and Strife* do not mean it was inevitable that the relationship between the creative interpretation and the source it was interpreting should fundamentally change. Just because I *could* make the decision to privilege my authority as creative practitioner over the authority of the archival and historical source material in *Trouble and Strife* does not explain the mechanics behind that decision, or its epistemological consequences.

For this research, questioning the relationship between a creative interpretation and history cuts to the very heart of my practice, and has significant consequences for how I might then answer my three other research questions. One of the characteristics of working with a reflective practice strategy is that it assumes that ideas can and should be questioned and reflected upon rather than taken as given, be they "personal, technical, conceptual, intellectual, societal and/or ethical" concepts both in my own personal practice and within the wider professional field.[2] So, my first step was to question my use of the term "authority" to reflect upon whether this was indeed an appropriate way of characterising the relationship between a creative interpretation and history. I initially did this by turning to the wider field to try and gauge how my notion of authority might fit with other creative interpreters and their relationship to history.

[2] Stewart.

Investigating authority

In surveying the way other creative interpreters discuss their practice there is evidence of a diversity of approaches to the relationship between a creative interpretation and history. Clearly none of these practitioners have explicitly discussed their practice in relation to my research question or the term "authority". Nor have the majority of these practitioners framed their creative practice as researchers. However, they provided me with a range of potential approaches to the creative interpretation of history and the question of authority.

Archaeologist James Gibb wrote and produced two plays, *London Shades* (1998) and *Revolutionary Spirits* (1999), as a way of sharing his archaeological findings with wider audiences at the London Town Historic Park in Maryland (USA).[3] Gibb expressed frustration that many plays based on history do not "get the facts right" nor do they "accurately portray the behaviors, motivations and attitudes of a past people" but instead produce "bad history well told."[4] In writing his plays, Gibb sought to counter this trend to produce a play that might perhaps also be considered "good" history. He did this by drawing heavily upon archival evidence to build his characters and incorporated pieces of text into their dialogue taken verbatim from archival documents and books by writers from the period. In applying my use of the term "authority" I would argue that Gibb here vested authority in history, choosing to prioritise the methods and sources of the archival historian in making his work as evidence-based as possible. This was in keeping with the aims of his research in using playwriting as a tool to share his archaeological findings and to meet the London Town Historic Park's educational aims.

For playwrights who do not write plays for educational purposes or in order to share research findings but still base their plays on historical research I perceived that there can often still be an implied sense of authority vested in

[3] Gibb, 546.
[4] Ibid.

history. On basing his play, *The Coast of Utopia* (2002), on historical research, playwright Tom Stoppard stated that "[j]ust occasionally I've fudged the timescale… [b]ut I've not invented anything significant."[5] The implication here is that significant inventions are ones that contradict the work of historians, which he has avoided. Similarly, Christopher Hampton explains that, "with my historical plays," and specifically in relation to his play *Total Eclipse* (1967), "I gather all the main facts, then fill in the gaps."[6] In both examples the playwrights have identified a version of history that they then gauge their creative choices against.

Nick Stafford is a little more ambiguous about his creative interpretations' relationship to history. On writing the play *Battle Royal* (1999) he says, "I haven't invented anything that couldn't have happened, but I have used some poetic licence with the facts."[7] By describing his changes as "poetic license" Stafford appears to be claiming authority over history. However, because he still positions his poetic license within what he perceives "could" have happened, which is a measure based upon his understanding of history, arguably the relationship here is still hierarchical.

Playwright Michael Frayn uses methods that in many ways resemble an historian's. Rather than working with "facts," Frayn is careful to position his process as one that involves critically engaging with archival sources. He describes his approach in writing *Democracy* (2003) as being "as accurate as I can get it from the sources for the period", reflecting the archival historian's notion that accuracy can only ever be based on the interpretation of specific sources.[8] Like Frayn, playwright Helen Edmundson, in discussing her 1996 stage adaptation of *War and Peace,* draws upon an understanding of history that resembles the archival historian's. Edmundson does this by acknowledging the multiplicity of interpretations within the field of history. After meeting with a range of academics she found "there were many different interpretations of the

[5] Croall, 11.
[6] Ibid., 23.
[7] Ibid., 61. Spelling in original.
[8] Ibid., 37. ibid., 17.

historical parts of [Tolstoy's *War and Peace*] – which was great, because it meant that I could decide on the one that appealed to me most."[9] Deciding upon the one that "appealed" most would arguably be, to an historian, distinctly ahistorical. Here Edmundson cedes authority to historians as interpreters of the past and simultaneously privileges her own methods as creative interpreter.

Nick Drake echoes the latter in acknowledging his own unique tools as a creative interpreter in writing his Cornish history play *The Riot* (1999):

> "I have to have room to create my own world… What happens in *The Riot* is nothing like what actually took place – but also it is…. They've been filtered through my own prism, allowing me to use my own voice, to create my own colour, texture and richness."[10]

Drake asserts his own authority as creative interpreter, knowing that what he creates is inherently different to both what an historian could develop but also unique compared to any other creative interpreter. His assertion that his play is "nothing like" what happened but simultaneously also "is" suggests an acknowledgment that "what actually took place" is inevitably unable to be captured.

The examples above indicate that there are clearly a number of different ways that a creative practitioner might understand the relationship between their creative interpretations and history. In attempting to frame these through my concept of "authority" it became apparent that "authority" was too blunt an instrument to handle the individualised approaches taken by each creative practitioner. In addition to this, it might be argued that because each of the above practitioners ultimately chose to rely upon their own creative methods to engage with the past, rather than the historian's, they all implicitly vest authority in creative interpretation and not history. This holds even in the case of Gibb who did draw upon a great many techniques usually employed by historians in

[9] Ibid., 98.
[10] Ibid., 40.

interpreting his archaeological research for public audiences but ultimately still developed a play and not a work of history. This renders "authority" a redundant term to explain the different approaches to this relationship within the practice of creative interpretation.

It is telling that none of the above practitioners appears to proffer a blanket definition for the relationship between creative interpretation and history, and none do so using a term like "authority". To define the relationship between the two through "authority" would suggest that it is ultimately a hierarchical relationship, with one set of methods representing a superior way of engaging with the past than the other.

Differences in engagement with the past

The archival historian's methods of engaging with the past are disciplined, rigorously tested and founded upon the absolute primacy of traceable documented evidence in building any and every interpretation of the past. As well as being strict these methods are simultaneously supple, innovative in the face of new technology, sensitive to change and highly imaginative. History has been described as a "hybrid discipline" in that it integrates the "technical and analytical procedures of a science" alongside the "imaginative and stylistic qualities of an art."[11] The craft of writing archival history is a "literary-creative act" thanks to the self-reflexivity of the historian who acknowledges that by writing history they are constructing history.[12] The practice of history is also highly collaborative, with every historian building upon, and thus adapting, "the labour and insights of others".[13] Historian Greg Dening describes the "abiding grace of history" as its ability to be "the theatre in which we experience the truth." [14]

[11] Tosh and Lang, 168.
[12] Alun Munslow and Robert A. Rosenstone, eds., *Experiments in Rethinking History* (Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2004), 14.
[13] Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel*, 131.
[14] Ibid., 125.

Archival history certainly presents a compelling case for superior engagement with the past. But there are other kinds of truth. Most playwrights would counter Dening in asserting that *theatre* is the theatre in which we experience the truth. Playwright Andrew Bovell draws on Harold Pinter to argue that the "truth within drama and the truth within public and political discourse are different things."[15] He says that in drama the truth "should remain elusive" and should reflect the "shades of grey" and "contradictions of the human condition".[16] Hilary Mantel adds that theatre can offer us "emotional truth", while film theorist Robert Rosenstone asserts that historical films have the power to present "metaphoric truths" about the past.[17] The notion of truth itself also has its own shades of grey. In Danielle Wood's Tasmanian colonial-era historical novel *The Alphabet of Light and Dark*, truth is something to be treated carefully, with "[t]oo much of it" proving a "dangerous contaminant to a good story. The truth was like salt… you could always add more later."[18] The truth of the historian is very different to the truth of the theatre-maker, filmmaker or storyteller.

Can archival history then access these other kinds of truth about the past? Although history can provide a highly imaginative and creative engagement with the past there is much that lies beyond the path of the historian. Historian Chris Ward writes about the process of imagining what the past was like in order to analyse and communicate it through history. He imagines a conversation with one of his subjects – a soldier in the trenches at the Somme:

> "*Wait!* I cried. *There's so much I want to ask you! How do I write about dying? How do I imagine it? How do I deal with any of this?* But they'd already gone. Scrabbling up the wet, chalky sides of the trench they

[15] Bovell.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 191. Hilary Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 2: The Iron Maiden," in *The Reith Lectures*, ed. BBC Radio 4 (2017).
[18] Danielle Wood, *The Alphabet of Light and Dark* (Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2003), 168.

> picked their way over the wire and stumbled off into the smoke, towards the machine guns and the thunder of the counter-barrage."[19]

As he loses sight of his soldier it is clear how much Ward does not, and cannot, know or communicate about that experience of the First World War through written, traceable evidence-based words alone. The accepted limitations of discursive text to capture something as multifaceted and complex as the experience of war were the motivation behind establishing Australia's war art program during the First World War. Artists were commissioned to provide an "emotional and aesthetic perspective" in order to "enrich our understanding of the experience of war".[20] Although historians can and do engage with emotional or aesthetic aspects of the past, creative interpretations can create and recreate an emotional or aesthetic engagement with the past or an experience from the past for the reader or audience in a way that history cannot.[21] A film can do this by recreating the past into moving images and soundscapes, a play might include historical characters speaking dialogue, a novel can give us the opportunity to hear the very thoughts of a person from the past. The shift in medium alone between archival history and various modes of creative interpretation provides opportunities for engaging with the past that are simply not available to the historian.

Where the archival historian has a range of tools to recognise, describe, analyse and speculate about gaps in the archive, creative interpreters can tangibly fill these unknowns through imaginative techniques. Despite the great wealth of archival documentation relating to some historical subjects and the generations of historians who have researched them, it is only by using imaginative techniques that the feelings, thoughts, conversations, relationships and behaviours of figures from the past can be *recreated*. In theatre, performance and

---

[19] Ward, 113.
[20] Lola Wilkins, "Official War Art at the Australian War Memorial," *Agora* 45, no. 2 (2010).
[21] Historians studying the history of emotions do this to great effect. However, this is different to recreating the past exploring by aesthetic or emotional perspectives.

film, people from the past can be physically embodied as recreated living people, voicing aloud words and thoughts and feelings and recreating historical events in place and space. This can often involve a "psychogeographic assumption" of connection at a physical heritage site or site of historical significance.[22] Creative interpretations can also integrate fantastical or magical themes and narratives about the past,[23] can mash-up and mix time periods,[24] can apply and evoke empathy,[25] and can explore the past through immersive and experiential techniques.[26]

In the hierarchy between history and creative interpretation who then should come out on top? Novelist David Malouf once claimed that, thanks to these different methods of enquiry, the practice of fiction might provide a superior engagement with the past compared to archival history:

> "Our only way of grasping our history – and by history I mean what's really happened to us, and what determines what we are now and where we are now – … is by people entering into it in their imagination, not by the world of facts, but by being there. And the only thing which really puts

[22] de Groot, *Consuming History*, 113.
[23] Andrew J. Salvati, "History bites: mashing up history and gothic fiction in Abraham Lincoln: Vampire Hunter," *Rethinking History* 20, no. 1 (2016). Films such as Burr Steers' *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* (2016), Guillermo del Toro's *Pan's Labyrinth* (2006) and *The Shape of Water* (2017), and David Yates' *Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them* (2016) explore the past through fantasy themes.
[24] Steven Knight's television series *Peaky Blinders* (2013 -), Lin-Manuel Miranda's stage musical *Hamilton* (2015), and Sofia Coppola's film *Marie Antoinette* (2006) all variously use contemporary music to draw connections between the present and the past.
[25] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 105-6. Terry-Chandler, 73. Jackson, "Inter-acting with the Past - the use of participatory theatre at museums and heritage sites," 214.
[26] Katherine Johnson, "Performing Pasts for Present Purposes: Reenactment as Embodied, Performative History," in *History, Memory, Performance*, ed. David Dean, Yana Meerzon, and Kathryn Prince (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 47. Magelssen, 308.

> you there in that kind of way is fiction. It's when you've been there and become a character again in that world."[27]

In an interview discussing *The Secret River* (2005), Kate Grenville similarly suggested that fiction represented a superior form of engagement with the past in saying that her novel was "up on a ladder, looking down on the history wars, outside the fray".[28] She placed her creative interpretation figuratively above the practice of history, as a solution to interpretative disagreements between historians. The implication of these examples is that by rejecting the authority of history the novelists also invert that hierarchy and claim authority in a way that renders history as secondary. The inversion of this hierarchy is just as problematic as vesting authority in history.

Grenville's comments, and this suggestion of hierarchy, stoked the ire of a number of Australian historians who levelled considerable criticism at Grenville regarding the creative methods she had used in writing *The Secret River.* This criticism was targeted, public, and appropriately described by Amanda Johnson as an "attack."[29] A robust defence of Grenville in turn argued as loudly and publicly in support of the methods of the novelist and the valuable role of both fiction and history in engaging with the past. Many also highlighted the contradictory nature of some historians' criticisms. Stella Clarke noted that:

> "[historian Mark McKenna's] caning of novelists with the stick of historical accuracy is surprising, coming from a contemporary intellectual attuned to the difficulties of accessing the past via the fragments and memories available to us, and the consequently constructed nature of truth."[30]

---

[27] Balint, 179-80.
[28] Grenville in Clendinnen, 20-21.
[29] Amanda Johnson, "Archival Salvage: History's reef and the wreck of the historical novel," *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 1 (2011): 3.
[30] Clarke in ibid., 9.

With the "elegance of hindsight" Johnson positions the most scathing criticisms of Grenville from McKenna, Inga Clendinnen and John Hirst within the anxiety and fervour of the History Wars. At this time Australian historians were disagreeing amongst themselves about the role of history in contemporary Australia and the most appropriate methods of interpreting evidence from the past. Johnson suggests that "several prominent historians did themselves and their discipline more of a conceptual and critical disservice than those novelists they set out to castigate" by decrying Grenville's use of poetic and narrative techniques "as if postmodernism and the linguistic turn" had never occurred within the field of history.[31]

Few novelists have received the same level of criticism as Grenville in relation to their creative methods, both before and since the publication of *The Secret River*, despite many covering similar creative terrain. It is therefore vital to position Grenville's experiences within the context of the History Wars and not suggest that the commentary at the time reflects the majority attitudes held by Australian historians today. Despite this, Grenville's experiences do provide a useful case study in demonstrating the different methods used by the creative interpreter compared to the historian.

Grenville's discussion of her own creative methods in *Searching for Secret River* (2006) provides a rare example of detailed insight into another practitioner's approach to creatively interpreting historical sources. Although there also exists a wealth of literature by historians critiquing Grenville's commentary on her methods, these authors, on the whole, do not productively engage with Grenville's intentions or creative aims as a novelist. They instead discuss her methods primarily in relation to the aims of the historian. This makes much of this critique difficult to apply from a practitioner perspective because it does not take into account the different aims of the creative interpreter compared to the historian. What I did find valuable was comparing Grenville's commentary with her detractors', which reveals two very different approaches to interpreting evidence from the past.

[31] Ibid., 2.

In *Searching for Secret River* Grenville describes her archival research methods as "shameless" in "rifling through research for anything I could use; wrenching it out of its place and adapting it for my own purposes" whilst at the same time "trying to be faithful to the shape of the historical record."[32] Historian Inga Clendinnen (described by Amanda Johnson as having a "tin ear" for Grenville's own playful tone) was highly critical of Grenville's methods and her use of "opportunistic transpositions and elisions" as well as ignoring the work of historians and the reams of research already done on convict history and settlement on the Hawkesbury River – the setting for Grenville's novel.[33] In *Searching for Secret River* Grenville also describes a number of experiential tasks she undertook as part of her research including sailing in a small boat while imagining being unable to swim and making her own slush lamp to observe its light.[34] Clendinnen was critical of these too, arguing that Grenville's experiences were inappropriate compared to the same experience 200 years ago. In their place she suggests examples of real texts that could have been drawn upon by Grenville, like an account of a sailor crossing the harbour in a swell, instead of her own partially imagined experiences.[35]

Historian Ruth Balint has levelled similar criticism at Australian historical documentaries which draw upon dramatised re-enactments rather than archival images and footage, which, she argues, would have "allowed for a deeper understanding of early colonial experience."[36] Criticisms like Clendinnen and Balint's places primacy on the kind of evidence considered appropriate in their own field of archival history. Both suggest that if an archival "equivalent" exists then it should be engaged with over and above any other kinds of evidence. They are not alone and many in the history community take issue with choices to

[32] Grenville, 191.
[33] Clendinnen, 16. Johnson, 9.
[34] Grenville, 161.
[35] Clendinnen, 20-28.
[36] Balint, 183.

engage with imagined, experiential or embodied methods when archival evidence exists.[37]

Theatre theorist Rebecca Schneider appears to echo Clendinnen's sentiments in highlighting a common argument against the use of embodied engagement with the past:

> "Dying on the field is not the same as lying down and pretending to bloat in the sun – surely! And sitting in a theatre watching an actor pretending to stand or to fall on a battlefield… all of these are *different* from "what really happened"" [38]

An embodied engagement with the past will never be the same as the actual past, it is just a representation of it. But most historians would comfortably acknowledge that archival history is also only a representation of the past. As historian Alan Munslow points out, the "disjunction between 'the past' and 'history'" reflects "the common condition of the relationship between the world (past and present) and words."[39] Words alone cannot wholly capture the world, or a war, or the past, but neither can embodied, emotional or aesthetic representations. The past is an "intangible world" and whichever tangible or intangible evidence is used to capture it will always ultimately fall short.[40]

Having established that watching an actor pretend to fall on a battlefield is "*different* from "what really happened"" Schneider then asks what use we can make of this difference:

---

[37] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 172.
[38] Schneider, 51.
[39] Alun Munslow, "Introduction: Theory and Practice," in *Experiments in Rethinking History*, ed. Alun Munslow and Robert A. Rosenstone (Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2004), 8.
[40] Gilderhus, 81.

> "[c]an [it] be manipulated to produce anything viable in the realm of sensation or affect that might stand as some kind of evidence, some kind of residue, some kind of remain?"[41]

For creative interpreters like Grenville and myself the answer is patently yes, that these embodied or experiential methods of engaging with the past can provide valuable insight and evidence to support an understanding of lived experience in the past. The emotional and experiential perspective Grenville needed to explore in order to describe and "get behind" particular experiences, shaping them from her protagonist's perspective, could not be gleaned solely from archival documents.[42] Just as watching a soldier die on stage is wholly *different* to that soldier actually dying, so too is Grenville reading about the documented experience of a sailor wholly *different* to venturing out on the water herself. If watching someone die is not the same as dying, then reading about sailing is not the same as sailing. As forms of evidence the two are not equivalent and replaceable with one another.

This notion of different, incomparable forms of evidence about the past is wholly compatible with the practice of history. The historian does not set out to establish one authoritative source of evidence at the exclusion of others, but rather seeks to "amass as many pieces of evidence as possible from a wide range of sources".[43] Grenville too paired her experiential research with wider archival research, amassing a range of different types of evidence. Some of the evidence she drew upon was intangible or untraceable, which meant it was unusable by the historian but entirely appropriate for the creative interpreter.

Where then does this leave that hierarchy? If I vest authority in history it limits my choices and diminishes my methods as a creative interpreter solely to the ways I might best support history without acknowledging that as a creative interpreter I can provide a uniquely different engagement with the past. If I claim

---

[41] Schneider, 51.
[42] Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 2: The Iron Maiden."
[43] Tosh and Lang, 103.

authority for myself as creative interpreter the problems are the same only inverse, similarly setting up one fundamentally different mode of engagement as being comparable with and better than another. But if I, Solomon-like, share authority between the two I no longer have a way of understanding that shifting relationship between them in my practice.

The problem here lies in my use of the term "authority." If I remove authority, how then do I understand the relationship between my creative interpretations and history? In creatively interpreting the Founders and Survivors project I wanted to interrogate my practice as well as push it into new territory. If "authority" was not appropriate I needed a new framework, one that would be applicable to my practice *in practice*, not just in reflecting on my past practice. I found the framework that best achieved this was adaptation studies.

CHAPTER 5 Adapting History

Understanding the relationship between history and creative interpretation through adaptation

Adaptation theorist Jamie Sherry argues that within the field of adaptation studies there has previously been a lack of focus on the adaptation process from a practitioner perspective, with primary attention given to the reception and critical analysis of adaptations. Sherry suggests that the consequences of this means overlooking "the many useful theoretical and creative functions of adaptation studies methodologies beyond comparative case-study analysis."[1] This thesis suggests a new application for adaptation studies theory by applying a number of key concepts in a practice-based research context. This is not to suggest that adaptation itself is a new creative process. Linda Hutcheon describes the creative process of adaptation as the way "stories evolve and mutate to fit new times and different places", and as a practice it has been undertaken for millennia.[2] A great many creative practitioners whose work I have engaged with in this thesis describe their creative methods by using the term "adaptation."[3] However, the majority do not draw upon adaptation studies theory in describing or contextualising their practice or examine their methodologies through practice-based research. Considering that adaptation studies theorists similarly do not focus heavily on the methods and intentions of practitioners, there is often a dissonance between the way adaptation studies theorists engage with and analyse the process of adaptation and the way that creative practitioners discuss their methods as a process of adaptation.

I developed a framework based upon some of the key foundation concepts widely explored by adaptation studies theorists. I then applied this adaptation studies framework to my process of creative interpretation. I, or any other

[1] Sherry, 87.
[2] Hutcheon, 176.
[3] For example see Helen Edmundson, Phyllida Lloyd and Fiona Shaw in Croall, 70, 83. and Hilary Mantel in Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 5: Adaptation."

theorist, might go on to analyse the creative interpretations I developed in this thesis in a reception context by engaging with any number of facets of adaptation studies theory. I might to this end also analyse the creative interpretations I developed in my past practice in a reception context *as adaptations*. But crucially, in this thesis, I have not applied adaptation studies theory in a reception context. I have instead applied an adaptation studies framework *in practice* and reflected upon the influence this had on my creative methods and my process of creative interpretation.

Building an adaptation framework

The term "adaptation" can refer to adaptation as both a "product" and a "process." Adaptation as a "product" refers to a text that is a transposition of another text through a shift in medium, genre or context.[4] In the case of this thesis the "products" are *The Needle*, *Oh Hi There History* and *Are your z-scores getting encores?*. Using different terminology for these creative interpretations reflects their meanings in particular contexts. They are "artefacts" when I am discussing the role they play in practice-based research in relation to the discursive text of this thesis. They are "creative interpretations" in acknowledging that they are a type of heritage product and thus have a relationship to history. They are "adaptations" as well as "creative interpretations" because this frames my process as adaptation and explains how I understand their relationship with the Founders and Survivors project. These terms are not equivalent and interchangeable; rather they reflect specific meanings when applied in specific contexts.

Establishing that I was undertaking a process of adaptation initially required distinguishing between a source text and an adapted text. My "adapted texts" are my three creative interpretations. They are all adaptations of the Founders and Survivors project, the "source text." The ever-expanding application of adaptation studies across different fields demonstrates that a source text need

[4] Hutcheon, 8.

not be a literary text – in the case of *The Needle* the primary source text is the Founders and Survivors project itself.[5] *The Needle* is an adaptation of the overall nature of the project including the historians' roles and methods, the overarching aims for the research, the construction and search-ability of the database, the possibilities for collaboration and community engagement, and the limitations and challenges of analysing convict data. *Oh Hi There History* similarly draws upon the Founders and Survivors project as a source text, with Episodes 1-3 adapting the overarching aims and methods of the project. Episode 4 is an adaptation of the publication "Sickness and Death…" in exploring Founders and Survivors research into morbidity and mortality during the convict journey, and Episodes 5 and 6 adapt "And all my great hardships endured…" in discussing Irish convicts and marriage experiences for female convicts. *Are your z-scores getting encores?* draws upon the overall Founders and Survivors project as a source text but is specifically an adaptation of "Prison and the Colonial Family", the Founders and Survivors publication about research into convict height, as are Episodes 7 and 8 of *OHTH*.[6]

One of first key concepts of adaptation studies theory that I layered in my framework came in response to my questioning of "authority" in the previous chapter. In an adaptation studies context whilst a relationship clearly exists between a source text and an adapted text it is not an inherently hierarchical relationship. According to Linda Hutcheon, "an adaptation is a derivation that is not derivative", and although it may come "second" in time it is not "secondary" in value.[7] Whilst an adaptation may depend upon a source text in order to be framed as an adaptation it is not "vampiric," overpowering and draining the source text, and, to follow the metaphor, neither is it "paler" or less than the source text.[8] Instead, an adapted text has its own integrity separate to a source text.

---

[5] In considering my past practice *Cogs' Flight Show* drew upon an exhibition as its primary source text.
[6] Maxwell-Stewart, Inwood, and Stankovich.
[7] Hutcheon, 9.
[8] Ibid., 176.

Understanding that an adapted text is not implicitly inferior or secondary to a source text can come in part from an acknowledgement that it has been constructed under different conditions, for a different purpose and often within a different medium. Timothy Corrigan describes this last variable as "specificity," whereby different mediums or "representational practices" have "individual material and formal structures that distinguish and differentiate them from other practices."[9] In *Chapter 3 Convicts, The Past and Archival Historians* I established that archival history is not just a shared set of methods for analysing evidence from the past but can also be framed as a medium. The "specificity" of archival history as a medium means that it has a different set of representational practices and structures of meaning compared to the mediums of drama and web-series. To position an archival history source text in a hierarchical relationship with an adapted text in another medium would ignore the way that these medium-specific representational practices fundamentally shape the way texts are developed and the meanings that can be made within them.

To return to Hutcheon's framing of adaptation as the way "stories evolve and mutate to fit new times and different places", it is not just a shift in medium that might characterise the fundamental differences between a source text and an adapted text, but also a shift in the context that an adapted text is both produced in and received in.[10] An adapted text that is developed in the same medium as a source text will still require some kind of reformatting according to "the individual adapter" and "the particular audience" it is being adapted for.[11] The meanings made about the adapted text will also differ to the source text in relation to the context that it is received in. Shelley Cobb argues that all adapted texts are received in "a dynamic relationship with history, industry, society, and culture".[12] When this wider dynamic reception context is married with an individual's own unique intertextual reading of a text, it guarantees that an adapted text is always going to be different in some way to a source text.

[9] Corrigan, 31.
[10] Hutcheon, 176.
[11] Ibid., 142.
[12] Cobb, 19.

Hutcheon describes the sense of difference between an adapted text and a source text as relating to "gains" and "losses" of information.[13]

In applying this foundation concept of adaptation studies theory to my praxis, the relationship between archival history and my creative interpretations becomes non-hierarchical. The specificity of mediums means that to directly compare the two, and thus place one in a position of superiority to the other, would mean to ignore the fundamental differences between both the context of their creation and their reception. However, establishing this did not entirely solve my perceived need to explain the different kinds of relationship my adapted texts might have to a source text.

When adaptation studies first began to emerge as an academic discipline, with its driving focus on the adaptation of literature for screen, theorists measured the relationship an adapted text had to its source text through the concept of "fidelity." To return to Corrigan, fidelity "purportedly measures the extent to which a work of literature has been accurately recreated (or not) as a movie."[14] Corrigan's cautious framing of fidelity reflects the profound and complex shifts that have taken place regarding fidelity discourse in adaptation studies.

Establishing the specificity of mediums necessarily renders "true fidelity" an impossible and "unhelpful" aim, and few theorists within adaptation studies have uncritically championed fidelity as a key aim for an adaptation.[15] Rather than framing in/fidelity in a binary context, early theorists suggested fidelity might be measured in terms of different "degrees of proximity" to a source text.[16] This approach acknowledges that changes between a source text and adapted text are both inevitable and not inherently negative – that there can be gains as well as losses. Along this vein, Geoffrey Wagner proposed that there could be three

[13] Hutcheon, 16.
[14] Corrigan, 31.
[15] Bluestone in Kamilla Elliott, "Adaptation Theory and Adaptation Scholarship," in *The Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies*, ed. Thomas Leitch (UK: Oxford University Press, 2017), 692.
[16] Hutcheon, 7.

different types of adaptation: "analogy", "transposition" and "commentary."[17] Michael Klein and Gillian Parker later highlighted three categories of adaptation as:

- "literal" adaptations
- maintaining "the core of structure of the narrative while significantly re-interpreting" or "deconstructing" the source text
- using the source text as "raw material" for an "original work".[18]

On the surface, these categories appeared to present a solution to my need to clarify the different approaches I might take in adapting a source text.

This kind of taxonomy has, however, been contested by contemporary adaptation theorists because it still suggests that fidelity can, and crucially *should*, be measured, and measured by seemingly objective criteria. A reading of a text's structure or narrative will always be a subjective interpretation – there is no essentialist core that an adapter can draw upon.[19] This kind of approach also implies that a single source text is being adapted with a seemingly recognisable sense of structure or narrative, reflecting a continued focus on literature to screen adaptation. In 2000 Robert Stam argued that adaptation studies, as a discipline, should "transcend" fidelity criticism and focus instead on "intertextual dialogism" and the "ongoing whirl of intertextual references and transformation" that makes up any adapted text.[20] The "inclusiveness" of intertextuality has opened up the field of adaptation studies to a range of other disciplines and methodologies in recent decades. [21] However, Nico Dicceco argues that disavowing fidelity criticism altogether can be as problematic as championing it, because it ignores the ongoing reliance that theorists have on "comparative

[17] Wagner, 227.
[18] Klein and Parker, 10.
[19] Robert Stam, "Beyond Fidelity: The Dialogics of Adaptation," in *Film Adaptation*, ed. James Naremore (USA: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 57.
[20] Ibid., 66.
[21] Nico Dicecco, "State of the Conversation: The Obscene Underside of Fidelity," *Adaptation* 8, no. 2 (2015): 161.

textual analysis" and discussions of similarity and difference between texts.[22] Dicceco suggests that when exploring fidelity criticism from a process perspective:

> "[t]he question, 'Faithful to what?' – long a staple phrase of fidelity disavowal – reemerges, not as a critique of fidelity criticism's inchoate theoretical foundations, but as a starting point for unpacking the stakes of adaptive processes."[23]

As a practitioner I still perceived a need to measure, or at least articulate, the different kinds of relationships my adapted texts could have to their source texts. In light of Dicecco's suggestion that fidelity criticism might play a different role for the process of adaptation compared to the reception of adaptations, I decided to explore how I could apply it in my praxis.

I first explored this by including Klein and Parker's three categories of fidelity in my adaptation framework. Working with a reflective practice strategy means that my own judgments as a creative practitioner are of value in analysing my creative methods. By privileging my own readings of the source texts in terms of my interpretation of structure and narrative I could make decisions to move towards or away from the source texts in developing an adapted text. This reflects a similar approach taken by creative practitioners who describe their process as adaptation but do not frame it through adaptation studies theory. On the adaptation of her novels for stage, Hilary Mantel describes her aim as "[getting] it right", in "spirit, if not the letter" – an aim based upon her own individual measure of what the "spirit" of her source text might be.[24]

One of the challenges of applying fidelity discourse from a practitioner perspective is that discussions of fidelity outside of the academy generally take a very different form compared to within adaptation studies. In commentary from

[22] Ibid., 165.
[23] Ibid., 173.
[24] Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 5: Adaptation."

the wider public, the media (including reviewers) and many adaptation practitioners, there is a noted tendency to uncritically prioritise fidelity as a driving aim for an adapted text.[25] Mantel herself asserts that an adapter "is not really in a position to quarrel with a novel" and that by actively altering the source text one might "fail as an adapter".[26] This suggests that fidelity exists in a morally-loaded binary and judges "an adaptation's "success" only in relation to its [perceived] faithfulness or closeness" to its source text.[27] Non-academic discussions can also often be ambiguous or inconsistent about the criteria used to measure fidelity whilst still framing it as a purportedly objective measure. Hutcheon and Bortolloti note that wider public reception of Baz Lurhmann's *Shakespeare's Romeo & Juliet* (1996) declared it an "unfaithful" film adaptation, despite including "most of the text and action" from Shakespeare's play.[28]

Having decided to explore a practitioner approach to fidelity using Parker and Klein's categories I made sure to maintain an awareness that the criteria I would be using to measure my adapted texts' sense of fidelity were wholly subjective and unique to my own interpretation of the source texts. I was also careful not to position my adapted texts back into a hierarchical relationship with the source texts. I coupled this initial approach to fidelity in my framework with an understanding that fidelity to the source text is "just one varying element in the making of meaning" in an adaptation.[29]

According to Linda Hutcheon, to treat adaptations *as adaptations* is to think of them as "'palimpsestuous' works, haunted at all times by their adapted texts."[30] "Palimpsestuous," a term Hutcheon repurposes from Michael Alexander, describes the layering of texts and echoes of texts within each adapted text, building upon the notion of "palimpsest" in a manuscript context. An adaptation

---

[25] Elliott, "Adaptation Theory and Adaptation Scholarship," 692.
[26] Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 5: Adaptation."
[27] Gary R. Bortolotti and Linda Hutcheon, "On the Origin of Adaptations: Rethinking Fidelity Discourse and "Success": Biologically," *New Literary History* 38, no. 3 (2007): 444.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Cobb, 19.
[30] Hutcheon, 6.

never has a one-to-one relationship with a source text but should rather be considered in an intertextual context, adapting a range of texts and cultural contexts layered upon that source text. Shelley Cobb argues that to consider an adapted text within a framework of intertextuality means considering the "textual, historical, and industrial contexts of adaptations" but also "their relationship to the cultural and identity politics of their time".[31] These infinite layers of context, in addition to an adaptation's relationship to its source text, all build together in an adaptation.

The 2001 film *Bridget Jones's Diary* provides a clear contemporary demonstration of this layering. The film is an adaptation of Helen Fielding's 1996 novel, *Bridget Jones's Diary*, which itself is an adaptation of Austen's 1813 novel, *Pride and Prejudice.* Imelda Whelehan frames the film *Bridget Jones's Diary* as an adaptation of Fielding's text as well as both an "homage to the singleton genre" and an "updated remodelling" of the 1995 television adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice*.[32] Rather than just considering the film of *Bridget Jones's Diary* purely in terms of its proximity to Fielding's text, by understanding it as a palimpsestuous text the film can and should also be engaged with in terms of these various layers of adaptation, as well as the cultural politics of its own period and the period it is being received in.

Familiarity with a source text prompts the question "[w]hy this particular source text at this particular time?"[33] The answer to this can then reveal a palimpsest of social, cultural, political, economic or industrial layers of context.[34] Linda Troost argues that the 1995 adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* should be considered within its wider economic context as a centrepiece to the "great wave of Austen adaptations" in the mid-1990s.[35] Troost notes that in the wake of the Thatcher

---

[31] Cobb, 20.
[32] Imelda Whelehan, *Bridget Jones's Diary: A Reader's Guide* (New York: Continuum International Publishing, 2002), 73.
[33] Cobb, 19.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Linda V Troost, "The Nineteenth-Century Novel on Film: Jane Austen," in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, ed. Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 82.

government the BBC "expanded its mission beyond providing education and culture to the nation" in also needing to become "financially self-sufficient". This then shaped the kind of content being produced because "television companies discovered that there was money to be made in selling British Heritage to overseas markets."[36] To analyse the 1995 *Pride and Prejudice* purely in relation to its fidelity to Austen's text ignores the economic influences on its construction as an adaptation, which then profoundly shaped its reception both in the UK and internationally. The international reach of Firth's Darcy and the sale of "British Heritage" through the 1995 production were then adapted in *Bridget Jones's Diary* six years later.

Linda Hutcheon argues that "palimpsests make for permanent change".[37] This notion is perhaps best initially understood in the application of "palimpsest" as a physical phenomenon. When an archival manuscript has been written over, thus creating a physical palimpsest in a textual studies context, an engagement with the original, older layer of text is fundamentally shaped by the inclusion of that new upper layer of text, which might have effaced or altered the original text. In adaptation studies this means that an adapted text can change the way we engage with a source text. The reading of a novel, even one known well, can be "crucially influenced" by the film adaptation of that text.[38] By casting Colin Firth as Bridget's Mr Darcy, *Bridget Jones's Diary* draws humour from the profound influence that Firth's portrayal of Mr Darcy has had on contemporary understandings of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice.*[39]

In a Tasmanian convict context the influence that a text like *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874) has had on popular public understandings of convict history

---

[36] Ibid.
[37] Hutcheon, 29.
[38] Brian McFarlane, "Reading film and literature," in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, ed. Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 27.
[39] The television series *Lost in Austen* (2008) takes this one step further in having actor Eliot Cowan's Mr Darcy recreate the scene of Firth's Darcy emerging from the lake at Pemberley, despite the fact that no such scene ever appears in Austen's novel.

cannot be understated. Before undertaking this doctoral research I had neither read Clarke's novel nor engaged with any of its subsequent adaptations but had still gleaned a clear understanding of Clarke's version of convict Van Diemen's Land through its palimpsestuous layering in other texts and contexts. Adaptations of *For the Term of His Natural Life* have had a significant influence on visitor expectations for convict heritage sites. There is a mirroring here with Philip Stone's discussion of Rojek's "files of representation" in a dark tourism context, whereby films, novels and memoirs can seemingly permanently alter and influence visitor expectations and assumptions about penal heritage sites.[40] Although not a dark tourism site, much of the visitation to National Trust property Lyme Park is heavily influenced by the house and grounds having represented Firth's Darcy's Pemberley.[41]

When it comes to an audience's familiarity with a source text they can often be described in adaptation studies as either being "knowing" or "unknowing" audiences, and each will experience an adaptation in different ways. Hutcheon suggests that "[f]or an adaptation to be successful in its own right, it must be so for both knowing and unknowing audiences."[42] "Knowing" does not necessarily mean having a comprehensive understanding of a text as if an academic expert. It can relate to having a familiarity with the existence of the source text, or an understanding of a character or set of tropes. Crucially, an audience can only understand a text *as an adaptation* if they are familiar with the existence of a source text, otherwise they will experience it through the same process of intertextual reading that they might apply to any seemingly "original" text.

The distinction between knowing and unknowing is useful because it highlights the way that different audiences will engage in different ways with an adapted text. It can also be used to explain the widespread appeal of adaptations. Hutcheon describes the "recognition and remembrance" that comes with being familiar with a source text as "part of the pleasure (and risk) of experiencing an

[40] Stone, 150.
[41] Troost, 84.
[42] Hutcheon, 121.

adaptation" but notes that "so too is change" when expectations or moments of familiarity are subverted.[43] The notion that familiarity was "part of the pleasure" of engaging with adaptations became a valuable consideration in shaping my creative interpretations for particular audiences.

Because our reading of any text is influenced by the texts that have preceded it (as well as, and having been shaped by, the cultural and political characteristics of an individual's identity) it is not just adapted texts that can change engagement with another text. While there have been many contemporary adaptations of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* that explicitly critically engage with the problematic construction of the character of Shylock in regards to anti-Semitism, it is not these adaptations themselves that have fundamentally altered our engagement with the play as much as the profound socio-cultural and historical shifts that have taken place since it was written. In discussing the film *Walker* (1987), Rosenstone argues this point in that "it is impossible for us to see the world of Walker, or any historical realm, without images of automobiles, helicopters, and computer terminals (or a sense of their absence) in our minds."[44] Analysing texts as adaptations draws overt connections between the palimpsestuous layering of tropes, ideas, cultural contexts and, most explicitly, other texts, that characterises the reception of any text in an intertextual context.

The key difference between palimpsests in an adaptation studies context compared to in discussion of geographical formations or physical manuscripts is that texts do not inflict physical change on each other. Hutcheon's notion of "permanent change" is not universal but particular to the individual reader or viewer's understanding of a text. The changes wrought between texts thanks to that palimpsestuous layering is complicated by the fact that not all readers or viewers will engage with texts in a particular order. Certain audiences for the film *Bridget Jones's Diary* may not have seen, or perhaps even be familiar with, the various texts I have mentioned within that chain of adaptation, thus not

[43] Ibid., 4.
[44] Rosenstone, "Walker: The Dramatic Film as (Postmodern) History," 211.

engaging with the texts *as adaptations* to begin with. Firth's Darcy has not left an indelible mark on these other texts, only a conceptual layer within their creation and reception depending upon the reader/viewer and the context that they receive a text in.

Adaptation-as-history

In developing my adaptation framework I also considered the way that adaptation studies theorists were engaging with the practice of history. There is a growing body of research in framing an adaptation *as* a work of history. Theorists like Anne-Marie Scholz suggest that adaptations should be discussed as "historical events", not just as "re-enactments of cultural texts".[45] Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan argue that the re-visioning of history through adaptations mirrors a similar process of re-interpretation over time within the practice of history itself, thus establishing adaptation as a kind of historical method.[46] Robert Rosenstone posits that history on film should be considered as legitimate a work of history as written history.[47] Exploring this notion of adaptation-as-history would, amongst other things, provide another way of approaching my research question examining the relationship between history and creative interpretation and would legitimise my creative interpretations as historical research outputs.

To frame my adapted texts *as history* would abstract the practice of "history" away from the specific archival analysis methods undertaken by the Founders and Survivors researchers in engaging with the past, and deny the specificity of archival history as a process, medium and set of representational practices. This would in turn reduce the significance of the differences between the methods of archival history and my own methods of engaging with the past through creative

[45] Anne-Marie Scholz, *From Fidelity to History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 199.
[46] Weiser, 2.
[47] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 169. Rosenstone, "Walker: The Dramatic Film as (Postmodern) History," 202.

interpretation. Although it may prove productive in future research to analyse my creative interpretations in a reception context as works of history, I found that the twin concepts of adaptations-as-history and films as history, when applied to my process, proved incompatible with the rest of my framework. As such, I have maintained an emphasis on medium specificity in my adaptation framework in this thesis and frame history through terms shared by archival historians.

History-as-adaptation

While the concept of adaptation-as-history might not be applicable in this research, the inverse, history-as-adaptation, is. Adaptation theorists Raw and Tutan draw upon historian Alan Munslow who suggests that historians are either "interpretative", in attempting to maintain some objectivity whilst interpreting documented evidence, or "adaptive," by working as film-makers or historical novelists.[48] Whilst Munslow does not frame these "adaptive" historians specifically in relation to adaptation studies theory, Raw and Tutan do, suggesting that all historical documents *are adaptations*, and that framing history as adaptation "democratizes the process of creating history" in allowing "everyone – film-makers, novelists, sociologists" to participate as "witnesses to the past and how it relates to the present and the future."[49] This sails history-as-adaptation very close to adaptation-as-history, and thus it is not Tutan and Raw's argument but the subsequent argument for history-as-adaptation made by adaptation theorist Thomas Leitch that I wish to explore in detail.

In building upon Tutan and Raw, Leitch focuses more closely on the work of the historian. He argues that "history is itself always an adaptation of some earlier history".[50] Leitch includes in this "earlier history" both the previous written outputs of other historians as well as the archival sources themselves that historians interpret. He frames these sources as "earlier history" because rather

[48] Weiser, 7.
[49] Raw and Tutan, 12.
[50] Leitch, "History as Adaptation," 10.

than being "the past" itself they are documentations of the past. When people transpose events into a diary, letter or convict conduct record, they are effectively undertaking a process of adaptation, adapting the past for that particular medium. The historian who interprets these archival sources in order to transpose them into works of archival history is thus also adapting.

ARCHIVAL HISTORY a process and product of **ADAPTATION**	**CREATIVE INTERPRETATION** a process and product of **ADAPTATION**

Fig. 1 Adaptation as a point of similarity

Although most historians would not knowingly frame their practice as adaptation, Leitch suggests that regardless of whether history is "*written* as adaptation" it will nevertheless be "*consumed* as adaptation."[51] This is true for all readers but I would argue that this concept is made particularly clear when the consumer is a fellow historian, who will actively engage with a work of history through the "lens of earlier histories".[52] This is similar to the way that "knowing" audiences engaging with an adapted text will look for moments of "recognition" and "remembrance" from previous texts as well as moments of "change".[53] Considering that "no one praises a new history for being exactly like older histories", Leitch's framing of history as adaptation supports what he describes as the "irrelevance" of fidelity as an aim for an adaptor, in that strict fidelity is neither possible nor necessary.[54] Instead, a work of history is analysed by historians in terms of how and why it deviates from its predecessors, the new meanings or perspectives it provides, and the insights it sheds on the cultural context in which it has been produced, described by Leitch as its "use-value" and "the way it answers the needs or desires of contemporary readers."[55] Just as many who discuss adaptations outside of adaptation studies still often regard strict fidelity as a guiding aim, contemporary historians also often contend with

[51] Ibid., 17.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Hutcheon, 4.
[54] Leitch, "History as Adaptation," 14.
[55] Ibid.

expectations outside the academy that their role as historians is to faithfully reproduce dominant accepted narratives rather than re-interpret or revise them.

By interpreting the Tasmanian convict archives, the Founders and Survivors researchers are *adapting* the archives. The project's adapted texts are not inferior to the convict archives but are developed in an entirely different medium, for a different purpose and audience. Linda Hutcheon describes the "process" of adaptation as both a process of "creation," involving "re-interpretation" and "re-creation" working from a source text, but also importantly a "process of reception" through intertextuality.[56] The Founders and Survivors researchers interpret the convict archives through their particular reception of the archives, reflecting their own place and time and socio-economic and cultural identities. They build upon previous adaptations of the archives in the form of previous works of history by historians, making their research palimpsestuous, both in terms of their actively layering earlier texts through referencing but also in the echoes of texts not explicitly referred to. These include widely overturned late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century histories of Tasmania's convicts or myths about the convict past. "Knowing" readers might be aware of these echoes whilst reading and the authors are certainly aware of them in disproving or overturning many of these myths without explicitly naming them.

Understanding history-as-adaptation does not suggest that my creative interpretations *are* history, just as a film and a novel can both be adaptations but a film is not a novel. Instead, history-as-adaptation draws a conceptual bridge between my praxis and the practice of the historian. By framing both creative interpretation and history as adaptation I facilitate a constructive dialogue about ways of engaging with the past that supports discussion of their similarities. This does not erase the unique methods and representational practices of archival history and the very different tools and needs of my own practice of creative interpretation.

[56] Hutcheon, 8.

Undertaking adaptation in my praxis

Applying an adaptation studies framework allowed me to examine the direct connection between the two as a process of adaptation, in transposing archival history into creative interpretation.

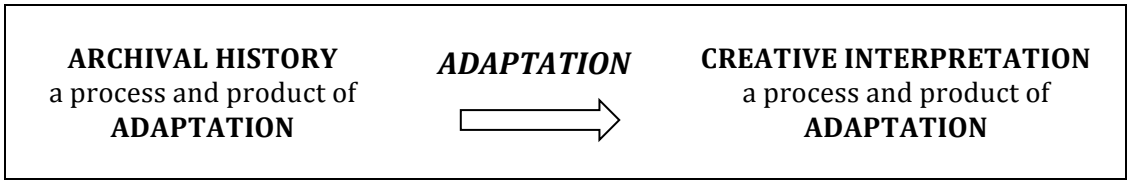

Fig. 2 Adaptation as a point of connection

When I began to apply my adaptation framework I first approached the Founders and Survivors publications as "source texts" in a manner akin to the traditional literature-to-screen adaptation context. This allowed me to explore the "degrees of proximity" I might have to a source text.

I developed a Stanislavski-style scene analysis for each publication. For my purposes this meant treating each publication like a play script by breaking it into Acts, breaking these acts into Scenes, and these Scenes into "beats." I then decided what the authors' intentions for each "beat" might have been in relation to how and where that particular information or idea was positioned within the overall text and how it helped to build the authors' arguments. By reading the source texts in this way I was applying systems of analysis that went far beyond the original context they were published in and the intentions of the authors.

Adaptation practitioner Robin Swicord describes her own process of developing a "road map" for novels that she adapts for film, going page-by-page tracking the narrative and themes and asking "what are the intentions of the author?"[57] It is important to note that the response to that question, like mine, is highly shaped by Swicord's own intertextual reading. Unlike for most of Swicord's work, I also had access to the authors themselves and could discuss their intentions, which in turn further shaped my reading of the texts. Having worked out my "road map"

[57] Swicord, 12.

or “scene breakdown” I established the key themes for each text, could frame the authors’ discussion of their research questions, methodology and findings in the form of a narrative, and understood the role that each “beat” played in the overall narrative. The level of fidelity I would have to each text, right down to the order of those individual beats, then depended on the audience I was adapting the text for and through which medium.

My application of an adaptation studies framework pairs those key concepts of adaptation theory with an understanding of audiences in a heritage context. Roland Arpin stresses how important a clear understanding of audience is for heritage interpretation because “it’s not enough to simply interpret, we must interpret for someone”.[58] In addition to this “[t]hese ‘someones’ are not a homogeneous mass but different people” who require different “experiences” and thus different methods of interpretation.[59] Audiences have diverse needs and expectations, and as heritage sites have shifted over recent decades to be more visitor-focused, site and object interpretation has also altered to appeal to and engage with different audiences.[60] Hems and Blockley note that when we talk about “bringing the past to life” in a heritage context we are actually using strategies to “engage with our visitors in the present.”[61] In engaging visitors Arpin suggests that heritage interpretation should meet a diversity of needs so that visitors are able to “find reference points and touchstones” to help them understand “the phenomena that surround them.”[62] Knowing the effective touchstones or reference points for a particular audience is a key to making an interpretation accessible and resonate for them.

Applying an adaptation studies framework for heritage audiences required acknowledging the needs and touchstones for particular audiences and having a clear understanding of why that particular source text was being adapted for

[58] Arpin in Casey, 114.
[59] Arpin in ibid.
[60] Hughes, "Performance for learning: How emotions play a part," 13.
[61] Alison Hems and Marion Blockley, *Heritage Interpretation* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 2.
[62] Arpin in Casey, 114.

them.[63] I will here focus chiefly on *Oh Hi There History* to explain who my intended audience was, the reasons I was adapting the Founders and Survivors project for them, how I also adapted touchstones and points of familiarity for this intended audience, and how this was shaped by my choice of medium.

The driving aim of *OHTH* was to make the Founders and Survivors project accessible for wider audiences. It was specifically developed for online family history audiences. This is a growing demographic, thanks to advances in online genealogy software and the increasing digitisation of museum and archival collections. The University of Tasmania currently offers a Diploma of Family History, a course of study aimed at members of the public interested in their own family history wishing to hone their genealogical and historical research skills in the digital age, for which I have worked as a member of teaching staff for a number of years.[64] The Diploma is run through the university's online learning platform and it is possible for students from all over Australia to conduct the entirety of their research online, including for the unit on convict ancestry. My experience with this audience is that they are an engaged, active and social audience, who are increasingly adept at researching and learning online. My personal reflections on this cohort is that they are predominantly female, and over the age of fifty.

The students for the Diploma of Family History reflect a wider interest in online genealogical research in Australia. The nature of genealogical research requires a micro focus on the individual in order to trace records and make connections between individuals. This can result in family historians spending relatively limited time positioning their ancestor within a macro historical context. Because of this, it can be difficult for family historians to see the social, political and economic influences that might have shaped the conditions that their ancestor found themselves in. In the case of descendants of Tasmanian convicts, where the more economically successful convicts with skills advantageous to the

[63] Cobb, 19.
[64] University of Tasmania, "Diploma of Family History," http://www.utas.edu.au/arts-law-education/study/diploma-of-family-history.

growing colony were more likely to have a more benign experience of punishment, coupled with the colonial gender imbalances that saw the male convicts at the more "successful" end of the spectrum more likely to marry and form families, many people's ancestors actually had a minority experience – often a particularly privileged one. *OHTH* adapts the Founders and Survivors project research specifically for this audience and demonstrates the way a focus on the collective can provide insight into the experiences of individual ancestors.

My choice of audience for *OHTH* was made in tandem with a decision about medium. The series has been developed as a vlog-style web-series to be published on YouTube.[65] The online family history community is demonstrably adept at formal learning online through courses like the University of Tasmania's Diploma of Family History. In light of the "transformations in digital literacy" that have occurred worldwide in recent years they are also highly skilled in self-teaching and informal learning online as new record sets and genealogy software updates are made available for the likes of *Ancestry* and *Find My Past*.[66] A platform like YouTube provides the means for "self-directed, independent and informal learning outside of the confines of the online classroom" and is often one of the first ports of call for self-directed learning today.[67]

Drawing upon Arpin's suggestion that heritage interpretation meet a diversity of needs and learning styles, the internet is a hybrid medium that relies on a complex web of reading, writing, listening, speaking and viewing, which means that it can be flexible to a range of learning styles.[68] Elaine Tan highlights

---

[65] For the purposes of examination the videos were uploaded to Vimeo, a video sharing site that easily supports the sharing of private videos. Following examination the videos were publicly published on YouTube.
[66] Angelina Russo, Jerry Watkins, and Susan Groundwater-Smith, "The impact of social media on informal learning in museums," *Educational Media International* 46, no. 2 (2009): 155.
[67] Elaine Tan, "Informal learning on Youtube: exploring digital literacy in independent online learning," *Learning, Media and Technology* 38, no. 4 (2013): 463.
[68] Glen Creeber, "It's not TV, it's online drama: The return of the intimate screen," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 14, no. 6 (2011): 596. Arpin in Casey, 114.

YouTube's open-ended and exploratory environment as a key aspect of informal learning, as is its non-threatening learning style which gives the student full control over their learning process.[69] One of the key selling points of YouTube as an informal learning tool is its focus on being both educational *and* enjoyable. It is this aspect of YouTube, as a site of informal learning that is both educational and enjoyable, that I capitalized on in *OHTH.*

As well as being a platform for sharing video content, YouTube is also a "communicative space and community."[70] Online research and learning are often social activities and the international family history community is built upon active social engagement despite the vast geographical distances between individual researchers. Developing *OHTH* for online audiences tapped into this existing audience in order to engage with family historians within the familiar online form that their research and social groups already take.

OHTH was developed as a web-series that included characters, themes and narrative, much like a short television series. It was structured in the style of a vlog – a blog that primarily communicates through video. Infamous early web-series, like *Emokid21* (2006) and *LonelyGirl15* (2006-2008), delivered fictional storytelling in a vlogging style and garnered huge early success by masquerading as real life vlogs rather than as scripted performances.[71] Today the lines between reality and fiction online are far more blurred than they were in the days of *LonelyGirl15*. Individual vloggers can amass millions of viewers for ostensibly performing "as themselves," despite the many complex mediation and interpretation processes (as well as economic drivers) that influence online self-representation.

Creeber makes the case that while television today has become a space for important events and spectacles, the internet has become a site for the everyday, "giving the viewer precisely what they can no longer see on TV – a glimpse into

[69] Tan, 464.
[70] Jean Burgess and Joshua Green, *YouTube: Online Video and Participatory Culture* (USA: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 69.
[71] Creeber, 598.

the 'real world' of 'authentic' feeling and emotion" which is reflected in the style of online drama and vlogs.[72] Vlogs and web-series usually revolve around recognisably domestic, every day spaces, and even the most sophisticated shows have an "emphasis on the close-up, direct address and intimate revelation."[73] This usually means a single camera shot with a close up of the human face. Part of the success of vloggers is that their seemingly achievable setup appears more "real" than the high production values of television. The makers of *Lonely Girl15* admitted they were surprised at the show's success saying that the production required "zero resources" which meant that "[a]nybody could do what we did".[74] I drew on these aspects of vlogging to develop *OHTH* in an intimate, single-camera style with a close-up of the character of Lydia in the foreground speaking to the audience from a domestic space - her private study. The simple camera set up and shot style provides a veneer of approachability and achievability and the close-up camera shot provides a sense of intimacy, drawing the viewer in and including them in the action.

Although audiences will quickly become aware that the character of Lydia is a fictional construct (if not during the first episode then when she takes on the role of the Lieutenant-Governor in the second), the shot style and setting support this sense of intimacy, as does the direct mode of address that slips into confessional and personal parts of Lydia's life. Abidin highlights the way vloggers use a kind of "conversational small talk that appears informal, casual, and responsive", similar to early television and radio personalities. This results in an audience member feeling as though they intimately know that particular personality, when actually the connection is largely one-sided and it is merely an "illusion of intimacy."[75] This sense of knowing is heightened by the inclusion of personal information and showing "behind the scenes" aspects of their lives. This has heritage parallels in Kevin Walby and Justin Piché's discussion of "staged

[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., 603.
[74] Ibid., 599.
[75] Crystal Abidin, "Communication Intimacies: Influencers and Perceived Interconnectedness," *Ada: A Journal of Gender, New Media, and Technology*, no. 8 (2015): 8.

authenticity" in penal heritage sites, with "displays curated or designed to appear as if they are an entrance into a back stage or authentic world, when these are contrived, front-stage performances."[76] An example of this "back stage" world can be seen in *OHTH* in the references to the character of Lydia's mother who might be watching the videos, or her own personal life outside of the vlog.

> LYDIA: I could talk for days about what I've discovered. It's true. Sorry Mum. You thought that South Pacific cruise was going to be relaxing.[77]

I adapted the Founders and Survivors project for this intimate, confessional mode of address that invites viewers in and encourages them to feel comfortable so as to cushion and support my discussion of quantitative history, a type of archival history that might traditionally appear exclusive, intimidating and unwelcoming. I also used humour throughout *OHTH* in order to make it enjoyable as well as educational for the audience. I adapted this approach from the web-series *The Lizzie Bennett Diaries* (2012-2013) where a new, predominantly younger audience is exposed to Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* in a humorous and intimate entertainment style.[78] Elaine Tan highlights comedy as an important aspect of informal online learning because of the expectation that learning experiences be enjoyable as well as educational.[79]

The family history audience of *OHTH* might largely be "unknowing" audiences in relation to vlog-style web-series precedents like *LonelyGirl15* or *The Lizzie Bennett Diaries*, but the form is very similar to the "talking heads" trope commonly used by historical documentaries and online lectures. These sometimes involve historians presenting from heritage sites, but often they speak from private spaces like studies or private libraries. Just as any new work of Tasmanian convict history will be "*consumed* as adaptation" with readers

---

[76] Kevin Walby and Justin Piché, "Staged authenticity in penal history sites across Canada," *Tourist Studies* Online First (2015): 2; Abidin, 8.
[77] *OHTH Episode 1: Revisionist History*
[78] Hank Green and Bernie Su, "The Lizzie Bennet Diaries," (YouTube: Pemberley Digital, 2012).
[79] Tan, 472.

reading it through a "lens of earlier histories", so too will a screen adaptation of history like *OHTH* be engaged with through a lens of earlier screen adaptations.[80] By identifying touchstones familiar to my intended audience, like the common "talking heads in a study" trope from historical documentaries on television, I can then integrate these tropes into *OHTH* to act as a point of familiarity or reference for an audience. I am of course not in control of the intertextual reading that an audience member will bring to *OHTH*. However, in constructing *OHTH* with an understanding of the palimpsestuous nature of adaptations, I can have some measure of control over the layers that I actively include that I believe will support or shape an audience member's engagement with the text.

Part of the pleasure of engaging with adaptations for audiences is the "tension between the familiar and the new."[81] One of my key considerations in adapting the Founders and Survivors project is that the majority of audiences will likely be wholly "unknowing" audiences for the project itself and its outputs. This meant that the necessary points of familiarity for audiences would come primarily from echoes of other texts and tropes. As well as including common vlogging elements like the domestic setting, intimate confessional style and the historical documentary "talking heads" trope, I also attempted to actively include points of familiarity for audiences by drawing on those common convict myths.

Thanks to the aforementioned issues of heritage sites rarely reflecting the majority experience for Tasmanian convicts, the micro individual focus required for the practice of family history, and the propensity for Australians to glean an understanding of history through creative interpretations rather than by reading the work of historians, it is likely that many audience members will be more familiar with the common myths about Tasmanian convict history than specific research by historians. I have therefore actively layered these myths within *OHTH*:

---

[80] Leitch, "History as Adaptation," 17.
[81] Sanders in Pascal Nicklas and Oliver Lindner, "Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation," in *Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation*, ed. Pascal Nicklas and Oliver Lindner (Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 4-5.

LYDIA: My ancestor was one of the lucky ones, he didn't go to Port Arthur.
QUANTITATIVE HISTORIAN: Actually only a minority of convicts…[82]

LYDIA: My ancestor only stole a loaf of bread.
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR: Yeah right, was *caught* stealing one. [83]

By explicitly referencing these familiar myths I can then deconstruct or subvert them for audiences through my discussion of the Founders and Survivors research.

In choosing to adapt the research from the perspective of "Lydia the family historian" and set it in "Lydia's study" I made the choices outlined above that would support *OHTH* being accessible for and resonating with my intended audience. However, none of these choices have parallels in the source texts themselves. The authors of the Founders and Survivors publications discuss their research largely in the third-person from the perspective of a single omniscient narrator and despite mentioning places and locations relating to specific aspects of the research there is no sense of the setting that the narrator is in. Adapting to the visual medium of a web-series means being cognisant of setting and character in a way not required in a written research publication. By making choices about setting and character that deviated from the source texts, I began to move away from what I would measure (drawing on Parker and Klein) as a "literal" sense of fidelity to the source texts. However, because there was no indication of setting or character in the source texts to begin with, the inherent need for these in a visual medium meant I could not help but step away from a strict sense of fidelity whichever choice I made.

Audiences for vlogs typically expect very short episodes with series made up of regular bite-size instalments rather than longer cinematic episodes. After developing my road-map I initially attempted to write what I termed an "abridged" version of each publication - an adapted version in my own words

[82] *OHTH Episode 6: Marriage*
[83] *OHTH Episode 2: The Convict Archive*

that would be short enough to then shape as a single web-series episode. This proved incredibly challenging. I found that no matter how many times I pared back the text, distilling each beat in my own words, the abridged version was still reading too long to comfortably exist as a vlog-style episode. This was because I was still adapting within the structure of an academic archival history publication.

Nearly all of the information in the Founders and Survivors publications would be "new" for my intended audiences, unlike for the source texts' intended quantitative historian readership. The big reveal in "Sickness and Death…" about the specific causes of higher mortality rates would likely be just as surprising as the notion that convict voyages were relatively safe compared to free migrant voyages – a concept that is well established amongst forced migration historians but likely not widely known outside of the academy. The order that the information was presented in the article, tailored for an academic readership, would not necessarily be appropriate for my intended audience. Instead of adapting the article beat by beat I found I had to rearrange the structure to streamline the findings and explain the foundation concepts underpinning them, tailoring the adaptation for my intended audience.

It is worth at this point revisiting those three categories of fidelity that I had decided to work in:

- "literal" adaptations
- maintaining "the core structure of the narrative while significantly re-interpreting" or "deconstructing" the source text
- using the source text as "raw material" for an "original work".[84]

I had initially aimed to adapt for the first category in developing a "literal" adaptation by transposing each beat from the source text to the adapted text. However, I found myself unable to maintain both the narrative and the structure of a publication like "Sickness and Death…" for the audience and medium I had

[84] Klein and Parker, 10.

chosen for *OHTH*. I found I could only maintain the key aspects of the narrative if I re-interpreted the structure. This meant shifting my aim to the second category suggested by Klein and Parker.

Once I had developed a restructured "abridged" version of the source text I then rewrote it from the perspective of "Lydia the family historian" as a web-series script and set it in "Lydia's study." I did this in order to tailor my adapted text to the medium specific representational practices of web-series that did not have equivalents in the source text. By the time I had also included those various other characters, integrated an overarching narrative tying each of the episodes together, and rehearsed, performed, filmed and edited it as a series, *OHTH* had slid all the way through Parker and Klein's categories to become what I could only describe as an entirely "original work."

I had initially attempted to develop an adapted text that I could position within their category with the closest proximity to the source text, but I found that I was unable to do this. I attribute my inability to do this to my choice to adapt for a medium different to the source text and shape my adapted text according to particular aims and the perceived needs of its intended audience. Considering that these kinds of choices are fundamental to my process of creative interpretation, these fixed categories of fidelity were evidently problematic for me to apply from a practitioner perspective. As such, my approach to fidelity from hereon mirrored that wider adaptation theory understanding of fidelity as being a wholly fluid concept. I might describe certain moments in my creative interpretations as having a close sense of fidelity, but I could not definitively categorise my approach to fidelity for an entire adapted text.

In realising how quickly and inevitably I had to move beyond the first two categories of fidelity, thanks to choices I had made about audience and medium, I found I was explicitly acknowledging and describing processes that had previously been implicit and invisible, even to me, in my past practice. Adaptation theorist Douglas Lanier notes this strength of adaptation studies theory in making visible or tangible some of the invisible and implicit aspects of

the creative process. In relation to adaptations of Shakespeare, Lanier cites the "great virtue" of what he terms "unfaithful film adaptations" that make obvious changes to the "language, genre, narrative, characters and tone" of their source texts, because they "foreground issues of remediation and ideological recoding" that are present but "tacit" in their "so-called "faithful" counterparts."[85]

The slide along the spectrum of fidelity that I witnessed while developing *OHTH* meant that I took a different approach to fidelity for my other creative interpretations. For *The Needle* and *Are your z-scores getting encores?* I intended from the outset to pursue Klein and Parker's third type of fidelity in creating a wholly "original work". This allowed me to actively shift the focus of my process away from fidelity. I could then analyse my praxis more deeply in relation to the influence that my "cultural and identity politics" might have on my process of adaptation and the "textual, historical, and industrial contexts" that I was adapting in.[86]

In shaping *OHTH* for a family history audience I was aware that this audience was likely to be predominantly female. Women make up the majority in the Diploma of Family History cohort and are often the heartland audience for heritage film and historical fiction.[87] Historian David Starkey has in the past been highly critical of historical fiction by suggesting it has a limited basis in fact compared to works of history and is "largely written about women, written by women and read by women" which, given the context of his statements, was presumably meant as a criticism.[88] In contrast, Diana Wallace describes historical fiction as "one of the most important genres for women writers and readers".[89] Peter Beck cites its ability to be used as a "tool for presenting feminist messages to a wider readership", allowing "women writers to override the constraints imposed by gender, re-imagine women's history, publish

[85] Douglas Lanier, "William Shakespeare, filmmaker," in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, ed. Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 69.
[86] Cobb.
[87] Troost, 75.
[88] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 206.
[89] Ibid., 207.

consciousness-raising politically radical texts under the guise of entertainment, and reach out to a large audience."[90]

These attitudes towards historical fiction are symptomatic of a wider shift in discourse around women's literary fiction, which in the past has been criticised for being "ideologically conservative and undemanding of its reader".[91] Since the feminist gaze has turned on the woman as reader, critique has evolved to explore "acute insights into the way women use popular cultural forms to negotiate their own life certainties."[92] The "woman's film" genre, under which many heritage films fall, has similarly been criticised, particularly for a focus on repetitive romantic plots lines. However, Imelda Whelehan posits that these repetitions can be "the most interesting aspect of such texts" because they raise questions of "why women (covertly) enjoy such repetition" which she suggests relate to "core anxieties about the space women supposedly inhabit in the world, and their enjoyment of the restaging of these anxieties dramatized".[93]

The wider narrative arc of protagonist Lydia in *OHTH* expresses a tension between romantic life and career, a familiar and pervasive issue for many women still today. The series plays out these anxieties about women's space, both domestically and in the workplace, and ostensibly endorses some of the traditional domestic and economic expectations for women by having Lydia raise her anxiety about being single at a number of points, being judged on the basis of her appearance, and begin dating after being criticised by other characters.[94] However, *OHTH* articulates these expectations in order to challenge them. By the end of the series Lydia's research is booming and she has developed a rich and collaborative dialogue between the various characters, which carries on even after she leaves the room. The most valuable relationship in the web-series is not

---

[90] Ibid.
[91] Imelda Whelehan, ""Don't let's ask for the moon!" : reading and viewing the woman's film," in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, ed. Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 138.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid., 140.
[94] Ibid., 149.

between Lydia and any mysterious off-screen lover, but between the various characters themselves who, perhaps excluding the prickly Lieutenant-Governor, form a kind of sisterhood over the eight episodes. The final moments of *OHTH* show the Female Convict trying on the Surgeon's white coat, encouraged by the Quantitative Historian, demonstrating the opportunities and possibilities that arise for women when spaces of safety and systems supporting health and education are put in place.

My understanding of some of the wider cultural context for my intended audience for *OHTH* therefore gave me insight into further points of reference that would perhaps help make the Founders and Survivors research accessible for them. However, there are obvious limitations to this approach. For one thing there is no guarantee that this audience will actually engage with *OHTH*. If they do, there is also no guarantee that these touchstones will resonate with each and every audience member. Helen Freshwater, in discussing theatre audiences, warns against grouping audiences as one passive, homogenous whole because each individual audience member brings their own "cultural, political, sexual and personal reference points" and entry points, and "individuals can have multiple ways of responding to a performance that might contradict one another" with "no two spectators [seeing] exactly the same play."[95]

It can also be highly problematic to gender an audience. My suggestion that the majority of the audience might be female has supported my drawing upon popular romantic tropes from heritage film and fiction to shape the wider narrative arc for the character of Lydia in *OHTH*. The series also models female voices in and female contributions to history. However, this does not mean it has been developed exclusively for a female audience, nor does it mean it comprehensively speaks to a female audience. In drawing on common tropes in historical fiction and heritage film this wider narrative arc perpetuates a cis-gendered able-bodied hetero-normative understanding of romance and sexuality that ignores many other marginalised perspectives or experiences. It also models

[95] Helen Freshwater, *Theatre & Audience* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 6. Fortier, 137.

female voices and contributions to history in a limited, and not particularly representational, capacity by privileging an already dominant non-Indigenous Anglo-centric female voice in Australian history. However, despite the limitations inherent in making assumptions about audiences, having an intended audience is vital for understanding why a source text is being adapted, for which medium it is being adapted for, and in shaping the adaptation process.

Applying an adaptation framework gave me a way of characterising the relationship between the Founders and Survivors project and my creative interpretations not as a relationship based on authority but instead through a process of adaptation. This also frames history itself as a process and product of adaptation. By applying an adaptation framework from a practitioner perspective and pairing it with an understanding of audiences in a heritage context so as to consider the particular touchstones that might make an adaptation accessible for that audience, this thesis has explored new interdisciplinary territory.

I have argued that archival history, in being a particular kind of engagement with the past based upon the disciplined analysis of documentary evidence, is both a practice and a medium. It is therefore important to now consider how my adaptation framework accommodates the specificity of archival history as a medium. The next chapter, *Archival Accuracy*, will explore how my adaptation framework helped me to define and apply concepts of "historical accuracy" and "authenticity" in creatively interpreting my source texts.

CHAPTER 6 Archival Accuracy

Recognising the tension between accuracy and artistic integrity

Fuzzy historical accuracy

In my past practice I made creative choices that I felt could be supported directly by archival evidence, which I understood as being "historically accurate". Choices that I could not support with specific evidence, but still reflected what I perceived "could" have happened I also framed as being "historically accurate." Any choices that dramatically altered existing archival evidence or involved moments of flagrant anachronism, magical realism or fantasy, I understood as being "not historically accurate." My approach to historical accuracy in the past was what linguists might term "fuzzy," in that whilst these categories were not without meaning and application they were broad, imprecise, and fluid – highly influenced by the wider context or conditions that a creative interpretation was being developed in.

One of the motivations for this thesis was to define more precisely my understanding of "historical accuracy." This is because I found that making certain artistic choices appeared to mean sacrificing accuracy and, vice versa: to focus too heavily on historical accuracy at times seemed to obstruct my sense of artistic integrity. Because I did not have a clear sense of what "historical accuracy" actually meant beyond those fuzzy categories I could not articulate, or perhaps defend, why I would at times make a choice away from it.

For the historian, accuracy is not necessarily a "fuzzy" term, but is not a fixed measure either. The practice of contemporary archival history, whilst incorporating highly disciplined shared methods of analysis, is founded upon the expectation that interpretations of archival evidence will be tested, critiqued and even challenged by other historians who might interpret the same evidence in a different way. Accuracy does not exist on a true-false continuum for the

historian, who instead engages in a "continuous process" of shaping evidence to support an interpretation, whilst simultaneously shaping an interpretation to support the evidence.[1] For the historian, an accurate interpretation is one that is defensible, where evidence has been interpreted according to the "scholarly standards" and research methods agreed upon and accepted by their peers.[2]

The archival evidence that historians rely upon is also acknowledged within their field to be only a partial, subjective form of documentation of the past and thus accuracy is not framed in terms of being accurate to the past itself, just the traces of evidence documenting that past. For historians the term "historical accuracy" might be better framed as "archival accuracy," in that historians are not accurate to "history," because they themselves make history. The suggestion that one might be accurate to "history" as a fixed, singular, objective narrative or "hard core of historical facts" is not compatible with the historian's own framing of "history."[3] It belies the diverse modes of analysis within the field of history, like the very different techniques used by quantitative historians compared to other kinds of archival historians, and the variances in interpretation depending on an historian's individual, cultural, social and temporal context. Even "archival accuracy" masks the possibility that dramatically different interpretations of the same sources might both be deemed "accurate" despite their differences. To further destabilise the term, some historians appear to invoke accuracy as being synonymous with "precision" or "attention to detail".[4] In this case "historically defensible" might better accommodate the range of approaches an historian can take in interpreting their sources, rather than "archival accuracy."

There are creative practitioners who discuss accuracy chiefly in relation to specific archival evidence, framing it in a way that an historian might in their own practice. In writing his play *Democracy* (2003), Michael Frayn described the play's historical background as being "as accurate as I can get it from the sources

[1] Carr, 29.
[2] Tosh and Lang, xiv.
[3] Carr, 12.
[4] Ibid., 11.

for the period".[5] Here Frayn's understanding of accuracy is based upon fidelity to the archival evidence, rather than "history" or "the past." Whilst having placed a high value on accuracy he admits the pursuit of accuracy in *Democracy* was only partial, because he describes the characters' dialogue as "completely invented."[6] In analysing the accuracy of television series *The Tudors* (2007-2010), Hilary Mantel, like Frayn, equates accuracy with fidelity to archival evidence and asserts that "[n]o one ever thought *The Tudors* was accurate."[7] She is critical of inaccuracies in the series that, whilst drawn originally from archival evidence, reshape or alter the information – like combining the experiences of two well-documented historical figures to create one character.

In Mantel's own work accuracy does not just mean making choices supported by specific historical evidence but also collecting and interpreting evidence like an historian, asserting that "writers shouldn't claim they are doing research when they mean they are skimming facts out of pre-existing texts."[8] In a similar vein to Clendinnen's criticisms of Grenville, historian David Young argues that despite the fact that Marcus Clarke undertook detailed research for his Tasmanian gothic adventure novel *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874), the way that he used that research in terms of his selection of sources, his focus on the remarkable and dramatic, alterations to documented times and places, and sewing together disparate events, made his work not accurate.[9] This first measure for accuracy in a creative interpretation reflects an historian's and depends upon specific archival evidence being analysed using methods acceptable to the practice of history.

Robert Rosenstone, who has written at length on the question of accuracy in films based on history, suggests that measuring accuracy in this way is problematic for filmmakers, because – and here I will quote Rosenstone in full:

---

[5] Croall, 17.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Hilary Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 4: Can these bones live?," in *The Reith Lectures*, ed. BBC Radio 4 (2017).
[8] Ibid.
[9] Young, 18.

> "…the most "accurate" works of dramatic history on film will always contain huge doses of what we might call small invention, acts of creation that historians who work in words will call "fiction." Because the camera demands more specificity than historians can ever know, all historical settings are what might be called "proximate" fictions. Similarly, costume, dialogue, gesture, action, the very use of dramatic structure – all these are full of small fictions used, at best, to create larger historical "truths," truths that can be judged only by examining the extent to which they engage the arguments and "truths" of our existing historical knowledge on any given topic."[10]

Rosenstone succinctly sums up the shifts in representational practices between written history and the medium of film. When the medium changes, the content inevitably changes and can result in losses of information as well as the gains demonstrated by Rosenstone. Adaptation theory supports the idea that all mediums for creative interpretation, not just film, demand an engagement with content that does not perfectly mirror an historian's. Thus these various "small fictions" will be inevitable – whether they are due to the need for an historical figure to speak aloud in an audio interpretation, have inner thoughts in a novel or wear a costume, speak dialogue and be placed at a location in a play or film.

Whether or not a creative interpretation then engages with the "arguments" or "truths" of "our existing historical knowledge" is a measure open to interpretation. Tom Stearn citicises television histories in the journal *History Today* for being "inaccurate, distorted and misleading."[11] An example Stearn gives is that "seventeenth-century people were different from twenty-first-century actors: shorter, thinner and often disfigured by disease and bad teeth."[12] Whilst Stearn's criticism of actors' height might be well-supported through quantitative findings on height like those of the Founders and Survivors project

[10] Rosenstone, "Walker: The Dramatic Film as (Postmodern) History," 209.
[11] Tom Stearn, "What's Wrong with Television History?," *History Today* 52, no. 12 (2002): 26.
[12] Ibid.

(whose own work is regardless acknowledged as *an* interpretation and not *the* interpretation), Hilary Mantel warns against assumptions that the majority of the people of the past must have looked a particular way:

> "On screen, there's a sort of generic pauper who thrives from the ancient world to the Edwardian era – fitted out with multiple rents and patches, ragged beards or exposed bosoms, gap-toothed of course, hair stiff with dirt, generally plastered with grime. Where does all this dirt come from?"[13]

Here both Stearn and Mantel criticise creative interpretations for not accurately reflecting archival evidence, but have come to quite different conclusions about what that should look like.

Accuracy can also be understood by gauging what is inaccurate. Rosenstone highlights two strategies employed by filmmakers when they choose to actively move away from archival evidence: "alteration" and "invention."[14] Alteration relates to inaccuracies like the one criticised earlier by Mantel in relation to *The Tudors* where two characters were merged into one; thus making changes to "documentable historical fact by relocating or restructuring incidents or events (altering time, place, participants)."[15] In *The Needle* I altered the name of the female convict who I based my protagonist on, changing her name from "Charlotte Fulton," as it appears in the archives, to the fictional "Anna O'Reilly."

In contrast to alteration, "invention freely creates characters and incidents."[16] The characters of Joseph and Neilson in *The Needle* are freely invented, as are all of Anna's experiences once she arrives at Neilson's property. Rosenstone is quick to characterise this kind of invention as "major" in contrast to those many "small" inventions that are necessary with the shift from writing history to a medium like film, including dialogue or set. Where earlier Michael Frayn

[13] Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 2: The Iron Maiden."
[14] Rosenstone, "Walker: The Dramatic Film as (Postmodern) History," 203.
[15] Ibid., 209.
[16] Ibid.

described his creation of dialogue as "invention" and positioned it as antithetical to accuracy, here we might cast Frayn's dialogue as only a "small" kind of fiction. Naturalistic works of drama set in the past, unlike works of archival history, are generally expected to include dialogue.[17] Considering documentation of dialogue is virtually non-existent within the majority of historical sources, Frayn is, by virtue of his writing for theatre, required to fill this gap if he is to have his historical characters speak out loud.

Where the above approaches to accuracy relate to the interpretation of the past by historians, discussions of accuracy can also relate to understandings of history as "the past." This type of accuracy is often not connected to specific archival evidence but instead draws upon assumptions, myths and received knowledge that can support convictions about the past often felt as strongly as if they were evidence-based in a traditional historical sense. The palimpsestuous and intertextual layering of adaptations can often make it difficult to trace the original sources that gave readers or viewers these particular understandings about the past to begin with.

This layering becomes increasingly complex when it relates to an aspect of the past for which there is no archival evidence. In reviewing Jesse Burton's 2014 historical novel *The Miniaturist*, about a fictional young bride in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, Rachel Cooke was critical of the novel's ability to "convince" in relation to its accuracy:

> "But for all its conceits and ingenuity, for all the lovely passages to be found among its pages, somehow it fails to convince. Again and again, I found myself thinking: *that would not happen*. We are expected to take so much on trust. Why, for instance, is Nella able to move around Amsterdam unchaperoned?"[18]

[17] Although this is by no means a definitive criteria for a play.
[18] Rachel Cooke, "The Miniaturist review - Jessie Burton's much-hyped but unconvincing debut," *The Observer*, 29 June 2014.

Cooke here does not cite any specific research to contravene Burton's interpretation of life in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, rather she bases her point on whether the book has "convinced" her according to her own assumptions or expectations about the past and what life might have been like for a character like Nella. In this way accuracy is being measured not against specific archival evidence but against a broader interpretation of that evidence in regards to behaviour. Similarly, *The Telegraph* newspaper recently attempted to ignite discussion about historical accuracy in the 2017 BBC adaptation of *Howard's End* by quoting from a viewer who had written in complaining that "[a]t the beginning of the 20th century… no one like Aunt Juley would have held a piece of toast in her hand at the table and spread it with jam direct from the spoon" which the article supported with quotes from historian Hallie Rubenhold.[19] Rubenhold's personal response on Twitter indicated that *The Telegraph* had misquoted her, saying "I told your journalist I wasn't concerned with something as minor as a jam spoon".[20] Historian Sean Richardson responded to the article arguing that "[e]tiquette is a measure" but should not be seen as a "dictator", just as in our society today not everyone maintains exacting standards of social etiquette or even adheres to the same set of standards.[21] Archival documentation of expected behaviour can only ever be a partial and projective record of actual lived behaviour.

Most historians would therefore agree with Jenny Kidd, Catherine Hughes and Anthony Jackson in that "[t]rue accuracy of representation" can only ever be "an illusion when dealing with the past" because any concept of accuracy is dependent on "incomplete narratives and judgments of value."[22] Where Rosenstone argues that accuracy to the work of historians is always tempered by medium specificity, Hughes, Jackson and Kidd cite the interpretative and fragmentary nature of any archival evidence as never being entirely accurate to

[19] Pass Notes, "Only correct... row rages over historical accuracy in Howards End," *The Guardian*, 20 November 2017.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Sean Richardson, "Review: Howards End Episode 2," https://richardsonphd.wordpress.com/2017/11/20/review-howards-end-episode-2/.
[22] Hughes, Jackson, and Kidd, 684.

the past. Both the characters of Miss Juley and Nella from the previous examples are invented, and so there obviously exists no archival evidence in order to accurately support any of their behavior or actions. However, thanks to our fundamentally incomplete understanding of the past there also exists no specific evidence contravening the idea that a character in a similar situation to Aunt Juley or Nella would have never behaved that way. Nella's wandering alone through Amsterdam and Aunt Juley's spreading of jam with a spoon should therefore be presumed possible, or at least not impossible.

In the wider literature, accuracy can also sometimes be conflated with "authenticity." Jenny Kidd describes audiences for performances in a heritage context as "seeking 'accuracy'" and that audiences frame this sense of accuracy in relation to "authenticity."[23] For his 1964 film *Culloden,* Peter Watkins describes his collaborative relationship with historian John Prebble as being used to check "authenticity."[24] The assumption here is that the more Watkins' work reflects Prebble's interpretation of archival evidence the more "authentic" it is. The connection between accuracy and authenticity belies the many other established uses of the term "authenticity" in a heritage, tourism and performance context.

In a performance studies context "authenticity" is an increasingly prevalent and debated concept relating to the authenticity of a performer and their body and a performer or spectator's bodied experience.[25] Andy Lavender argues that in the twenty-first century there is "no longer a separation between the space of performance and that of spectatorship."[26] By analysing performance through the term of "engagement," which is inclusive of both spectators and participants, Lavender applies "authenticity" as a way of exploring different kinds of "bodied" "engagement" with performance. In the theatre, particularly in the context of naturalism, "authenticity" can also relate to the quasi-real representation of

[23] Kidd, 25.
[24] Nicholas J Cull, "Culloden and the Alternative Form of Historical Filmmaking," in *Retrovisions: Reinventing the Past in Film and Fiction*, ed. Deborah Cartmell, I. Q. Hunter, and Imelda Whelehan (London: Pluto Press, 2001), 93.
[25] Schneider, 48.
[26] Andy Lavender, *Performance in the Twenty-First Century: Theatres of Engagement* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 9.

reality on stage through portrayals of human emotion or experience that give an audience member the opportunity to "experience through another person, feelings, passions, pain" and identify with characters onstage.[27] It can also relate to the verisimilitude of sets and costumes, reflecting an audience's "desire to see the world imitated through the limited resources of human craftsmanship."[28] These notions of authenticity may contribute to audience experiences of authenticity but they are not explicitly connected with questions of archival accuracy. I will therefore primarily draw on the usage of authenticity in a heritage context where it is applied in connection with history and the past.

In a heritage context the concept of "authenticity" originated from the need for experts and professionals to "authenticate" objects or sites, determining their origins and provenance and ascribing a particular value, often cultural or monetary, according to whether an object was deemed authentic or inauthentic.[29] This is similar to the historian with their authenticated sources, each with its own reference tracking its position within the archive. As the role of museums shifted during the twentieth century, from repositories and vaults of fixed knowledge to sites of negotiated knowledge, with the New Museology bringing with it a focus on interpretation and context, the role of authenticity also changed.[30]

No longer just describing the origins of an object, authenticity began to describe the experience or perception of an object or space – a constructivist sense of authenticity that was pluralist, relativist and personal.[31] An object previously only considered authentic according to the criteria ascribed to it by those particular experts in that particular context might, with this shift in the application of the term "authenticity," be deemed "inauthentic" by experts and

[27] Anne Ubersfeld, Pierre Bouillaguet, and Charles Jose, "The Pleasure of the Spectator," *Modern Drama* 25, no. 1 (1982): 134.
[28] Ibid., 130.
[29] Nina Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience," *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 2 (1999): 350.
[30] Vergo.
[31] Kidd, 25.

professionals but still be perceived and experienced as "authentic" by a visitor.[32] In this way authenticity might relate to the verisimilitude of copies of objects in a museum or heritage context, such as display replicas or casts. Although "inauthentic" in terms of their documented provenance, these simulations or re-creations might provide a perception or appearance of authenticity. This is similar to the experience of authenticity in a naturalistic theatre context.

In a tourism context the term "staged authenticity" began to be applied to experiences or objects that might be perceived as "authentic" but by virtue of being mediated through a tourist setting were simultaneously also "inauthentic." [33] In a postmodern heritage environment the lines between "original" and "staged" objects and experiences blur and disappear - there is no one authentic interpretation, therefore it is all inauthentic, all staged. This stems from the plurality of meanings around any object or site to begin with – a dissonance rendering authenticity impossible – as well as the inherent artifice of presenting any object or site in a heritage context.[34] Heritage sites and objects do not themselves have an inherent sense of authenticity and cannot "speak for themselves" any more than the historian's archives can.

In this way authenticity can only ever be conceived as "staged authenticity" - nothing is essentially authentic or inauthentic. This sense of simultaneous authenticity and inauthenticity is also widely discussed in terms of the real/not-real characteristics of space and time in the theatre, where "the actor's "now" is not the audience's "now," even as these "now"s and "then"s meet and bleed, paradoxically, into a shared moment." [35] Richard Schechner describes this inherent paradox in relation to the boundaries between actors and their characters in his assertion that Laurence Olivier is "not Hamlet, but he is also not

[32] Wang, 345.
[33] Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangement of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973).
[34] Alan Gordon, "Heritage and Authenticity: The Case of Ontario's Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons," *The Canadian Historical Review* 85, no. 3 (2004).
[35] Schneider, 40. Punctuation as in original.

not Hamlet."[36]

Kevin Walby and Justin Piché draw on this notion of all authenticity being inherently inauthentic in their use of the term "staged authenticity." They describe a penal heritage site as consisting of "displays curated or designed to appear as if they are an entrance into a back stage or authentic world, when these are contrived, front-stage performances."[37] Walby and Piché highlight four categories of staged authenticity: spatial and architectural, tactile, narrative and existential – the experience or feeling of a site.[38] This last category builds upon the long held use of "existential authenticity" in a tourism context: the inter- or intra-personal experiences and feelings of tourists during their tourism activities.[39] This understanding of authenticity in a tourism context stems from a perceived sense of cultural anxiety around modernity and a "longing for lost authenticity," as if modern society is inherently inauthentic.[40]

In a heritage context a sense of authenticity can therefore be ascribed to one or all of: a site or object's documented origins, the way that a site or object is contextualized and presented (regardless of its origins), and the reception of a site or object by a visitor (regardless of its origins or the way it is contextualized or presented). Authenticity is thus a pluralistic, relative and subjective term, and to apply it in a creative interpretation context means to similarly acknowledge the competing but valid ways it might be conceived and applied by audiences. In her evaluation of museum theatre Jenny Kidd discovered that although many audiences discussed the play in question's "authenticity," when analysing their statements she found that, across they group, they were using four distinctly different, and at times contradictory, applications of the term "authenticity."[41]

---

[36] Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (USA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 110.
[37] Walby and Piché, "Staged authenticity in penal history sites across Canada," 7-12.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Wang, 360.
[40] Kidd, 25; Gable and Handler, "After Authenticity at an American Heritage Site," 568.
[41] Kidd, 26.

As a practitioner I can decide what role authenticity plays in my practice. However, it is vital to note that this does not determine the way an audience might then perceive authenticity in my creative interpretations, nor a director, designer or actors in adapting my script for stage. The same is also true for accuracy. There are demonstrably many ways of framing accuracy for a creative interpreter. This diversity of approaches is one of the reasons why creative interpretations can "attack history from several thousand different angles" and allow new perspectives or new meanings to be made depending on how a creative practitioner chooses to approach accuracy – or how an audience chooses to measure it.[42] In order to approach my research question in examining the tension between accuracy and artistic integrity I needed to first clearly define an approach to accuracy for me to apply in my praxis. To do this I looked again to adaptation studies.

Archival accuracy as fidelity

Despite not being a hierarchical relationship in an adaptation context, a clear connection does exist between my creative interpretations and the Founders and Survivors project publications. I discussed fidelity in the previous chapter in relation to adapting a source text's narrative, structure and "beats" – decontextualizing the source texts from their intended context as *history* and instead treating them like a play script or novel. However, as works of history they have specific representational practices and systems of meaning that markedly differ from other literary forms, and a specific way of engaging with the past. By framing the relationship between *history* and an adapted text through fidelity I found a new way of understanding accuracy in my praxis. This understanding of accuracy extends through practice the theoretical connection that Frans Weiser draws between fidelity discourse and the practice of history.[43]

[42] Croall, 36.
[43] Weiser, 6.

In developing *Are your z-scores getting encores?* I found that if I attempted to have a high level of fidelity to the source text, "Prison and the Colonial Family," I also had what I would have framed in my past practice as a high level of "accuracy." Unlike some of the other measures of accuracy discussed earlier, an understanding of accuracy based on fidelity is evidence-based, because it relates to specific historical or archival texts. In this way my approach to accuracy begins to mirror an historian's. Having problematized the term "historical accuracy" for the practice of history I will continue to use "accuracy" in this discussion of my praxis in relation to "archival accuracy". Archival accuracy, as an aim, can relate to my own interpretation of archival evidence in a manner that might be deemed historically defensible, but also describes my drawing upon a work of history that can itself claim archival accuracy in the same way. Rather than arguing that parts of my creative interpretations *are* accurate, which with its true-false binary in being either accurate or not is somewhat counter to the overarching intertextual framing of my praxis, I will primarily discuss how I have developed parts of my creative interpretations to be "historically defensible." I will frame this discussion primarily around *Are your z-scores getting encores?*, the creative interpretation that I developed as a play script that was also a conference paper, exploring that interweaving of theory and practice as praxis. It is analysed in this thesis in its written form as a play script. I developed it to be performed by me as a conference presentation to an academic audience predominantly made up of archival historians, particularly quantitative historians.

In *Are your z-scores getting encores?* my description of convict height had a relatively high level of fidelity to the source text and so is, I would argue, historically defensible. I do not quote the source text verbatim but instead change the language and tone and condense what in the article makes up a few pages of discussion into one small paragraph. This paragraph might be classed as

Parker and Klein's second category of fidelity: re-interpreting the content whilst maintaining the core narrative.[44] In the play script my paragraph reads:

> "Convicts, thanks to a cocktail of these environmental insults, were much shorter than free settlers. Convict recidivists were even shorter. But the colonially born, the children of the convicts and free settlers, they were tall. All of the fresh food, clean water, bright sunshine and relatively sanitary conditions of colonial Van Diemen's Land meant that these first-generation children were really thriving."[45]

If I were writing a work of history I would have here included a reference to the specific pages of text that this passage has fidelity to, which would read thus:

> Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish, Kris Inwood, and Jim Stankovich. "Prison and the Colonial Family." *The History of the Family* 20, no. 2 (2015), pp232-235

This approach frames accuracy purely in regards to the documentation and interpretation of the past, rather than attempting to be accurate to the past itself. It also accommodates the prevalence of contrasting interpretations between historians on particular aspects of the past. Consider the earlier example of playwright Helen Edmundson choosing between conflicting historical interpretations to develop her stage adaptation of *War and Peace.*[46] In being supported by one specific historical interpretation Edmundson's play might at points still be deemed historically defensible even if it is not supported by the findings of all historians.

Just as an historian can interpret a range of sources in constructing an engagement with the past so too can my creative interpretations, thanks to my

---

[44] Robert Giddings, Keith Selby, and Chris Wensley, *Screening the Novel: The Theory and Practice of Literary Dramatization* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1990), 12.
[45] *Are your z-scores getting encores?*, 324.
[46] Croall, 98.

understanding of adaptations as palimpsestuous. This can be seen in the very next paragraph:

> "The colonially born were so tall that they were nicknamed cornstalks on the mainland, and here in Tasmania they were called barracoutas – after the fish – which personally I think is rather a fraught nickname because barracoutas are certainly long and skinny but aren't what you'd call tall. However, the Tasman Bridge – that many of you would have crossed on your way in from the airport – if you stood it up on its ends, is taller than Mount Wellington, so I guess barracoutas work the same way."[47]

This passage can be analysed in relation to its fidelity to "Prison and the Colonial Family," but also fidelity to texts about the Tasman Bridge, Mount Wellington and barracoutas. These might also have been footnoted in the script like this:

> Wikipedia, *Mount Wellington*
> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount_Wellington_(Tasmania)
> Accessed 03/08/2018.
>
> Wikipedia, *Tasman Bridge*
> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tasman_Bridge
> Accessed 03/08/2018.
>
> Wikipedia, *Thyrsites,* https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thyrsites
> Accessed 03/08/2018.

Unlike the Founders and Survivors publications, the Wikipedia sources I drew upon in relation to the mountain, bridge and fish are not peer-reviewed and rigorously evidence-based, and thanks to the continuous editing of Wikipedia the information is not traceable because the content might change significantly over

[47] *Are your z-scores getting encores?*, 324.

time.[48] They would not be recognised as an appropriate form of evidence to render a work of history defensible. This passage helps me establish that, in my praxis, fidelity to specific texts does not automatically equate to "historical defensibility".

This is useful to note for two reasons. Firstly, it marks a clear boundary in how I am framing accuracy. Whilst my creative interpretations can have fidelity to a whole host of source texts, in my praxis I can only make claims of "archival accuracy" or "historical defensibility" if the type of sources and the way that I interpret them can themselves be judged historically defensible. This means analysing texts as an historian and relying, for purposes of accuracy, primarily upon evidence that an historian would use. This reflects the measurement of accuracy suggested by David Young and Inga Clendinnen earlier.[49] In their view it is not enough to link an interpretation to particular sources if those sources are not sources that an historian would use and the methods used to analyse those sources do not match an historian's. This is a much stricter definition of accuracy than I had applied in my past practice.

In framing my approach to accuracy as fidelity I need to acknowledge that fidelity is measured along a spectrum, rather than in a true-false paradigm, and that it is a wholly subjective measure. Does an adapted text that has maintained the overall narrative of a source text but changed its structure have more or less fidelity than an adapted text that has changed the narrative but kept the structure? Every individual will have their own unique reading of a text, along with their own particular sense of what is the key information that an adaptation aiming for a high sense of fidelity should try to maintain.[50] In the earlier example about convict height I condensed three pages of text from "Prison and the Colonial Family" into one paragraph, keeping what I decided was the key

[48] This mirrors a relatively new ethical concern for historians in that online search enquiries, based upon algorithms personalised to an individual's online footprint, which highly influence the kinds of sources an historian might discover or engage with, are themselves not repeatable by another historian, potentially calling into question the traceability of evidence sourced online. See Hitchcock.
[49] Clendinnen, 20-28; Young, 18.
[50] McFarlane, 15.

narrative. However, another individual might read those three pages and decide that other information was more important to include, like the potential height bias in the judicial system or the idea that not all convicts were short – they were just *more likely* to be short.

A work of history's defensibility is not fixed but rather differs between historians and is relative to place and time. *Are your z-scores getting encores?* may have in parts, in my opinion, a relatively high degree of fidelity to "Prison and the Colonial Family," making parts of it historically defensible, but some historians might disagree with my interpretation, or might assert that the Founders and Survivors source text itself is not historically defensible. Future historians might wholly disprove or discredit the findings of "Prison and the Colonial Family." This would in turn mean that parts of *Are your z-scores getting encores?* might no longer be considered historically defensible even by me, because that source text is no longer considered to be an accurate window on the past. This instability is in fact a useful feature because it acts as a constant reminder that both a creative interpretation and a work of history are highly shaped by the place and time they have been developed in and are being received in.

The second virtue of distinguishing between fidelity to "Prison and the Colonial Family" as a means of supporting archival accuracy and fidelity to those Wikipedia entries as not – *and choosing to have fidelity to the Wikipedia texts anyway* – is that it clearly establishes that none of my creative interpretations are works of history. *Are your z-scores getting encores?* can only ever be historically defensible in parts, not as a whole. Even then it is only through engagement with this thesis because the script itself is not referenced, rendering these moments of archival accuracy neither traceable nor testable in the creative interpretation itself.

Framing a clear approach to accuracy proved a useful tool for myself as a practitioner but it is largely invisible to the audience. In a theatre context even if I had included references in the script of *Are your z-scores getting encores?* these would not necessarily be communicated in producing and performing the script

for an audience. In writing *In the Next Room or the vibrator play* (2010), a play exploring the late nineteenth-century adoption of electrical vibrator treatments to cure "hysteria" in women, playwright Sarah Ruhl drew upon a range of archival sources and included asterisks in her script to indicate where direct quotations had been integrated into characters' dialogue.[51] This primarily communicates the provenance of the information for readers and creative teams in producing the script, but Ruhl does not suggest this information should also be actively communicated to theatre audiences. For readers of his scripts playwright Michael Frayn does not provide line-by-line references but does outline the major texts or archival sources that have informed his creative interpretation.[52] These similarly can support a reader's understanding of his script and will shape a creative team's choices in adapting it for theatre, but are likely rendered invisible for theatre audiences who do not read the script.[53] I have included supplementary material of this ilk at the end of *The Needle* directing a reader or creative team to the specific Founders and Survivors findings that historians Richard and Amelia refer to during their presentation.

Many historical novelists also include lists of references at the end of their novels. Philippa Gregory includes support material for her novels such as "extracts from primary sources, bibliographies pointing readers towards sources and further reading."[54] This kind of approach sits comfortably with archival accuracy as fidelity. If Gregory indicates which historical texts or archival materials she has drawn upon to write her novel, implicit here is that she has gauged her sense of accuracy by her novel's fidelity to these sources. Ruhl is amongst the minority of creative interpreters in providing specific line references in her script, and in her case she has only included two.[55] It is significant that the references provided by the likes of Gregory and Frayn are not

[51] Sarah Ruhl, *In the Next Room or the vibrator play* (US: Theatre Communications Group, 2010), 6.
[52] Frayn, 95-151.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 211.
[55] Ruhl, 77, 94.

integrated into the scripts or novels themselves but rather included as supplementary, even exegetical, material.

Many creative interpreters clearly adopt methodical approaches in order to argue that their work maintains a level of archival accuracy. The inclusion of supporting material might serve to influence reader engagement or to support the adaptation of a play script for stage, but it can also exist as a first line of defence against criticisms of inaccuracy. Where the practice of history depends upon historians critically engaging with their peers' work by a widely shared set of codes and practices, a creative interpretation is left open to being interrogated by approaches to accuracy that do not match the interpreter's own. Burton, for example, likely has a detailed understanding of which parts of her novel relate to which parts of her research, but she has not included line-specific references supporting her choices, which then makes her work vulnerable to criticism like Rachel Cooke's, who said that *The Miniaturist* did not "convince" her.[56] However, having a creative interpretation measured by criteria different to its creator's is not something that a creative interpreter can prevent, and nor should it be prevented. Having defined my approach to accuracy I acknowledge that the audiences for my creative interpretations will likely not share this approach, perhaps apart from those individuals who read this thesis.

Understanding accuracy as fidelity did provide me with a more methodical approach to accuracy in my practice and meant that I could explain when and how particular aspects of my creative interpretations are historically defensible. Applying an adaptation studies framework required me to also acknowledge that this understanding of archival accuracy is unstable, has potential to change over time, and is uncertain in that it is not an empirical measurement but instead highly subjective and relative. These are neither uncommon nor insurmountable conditions for a creative interpreter to work in and mean that my approach to accuracy remains flexible and agile as well as simultaneously being more disciplined. Much the same as it is for historians.

[56] Cooke.

Limitations of archival accuracy

Are your z-scores getting encores? begins in the typical style of an academic conference presentation, and having an approach towards accuracy as fidelity worked well in my discussions of the researchers' findings in "Prison and the Colonial Family." However, when I shifted from *talking about* history to *embodying* history, through the story of Seth Marley, I soon ran into some significant challenges. In order to explore this issue in more depth let me first introduce Seth Marley, the son of a convict used by the authors of "Prison and the Colonial Family" as a framing device in their exploration of how height data can be used to illuminate the childhood environmental conditions experienced by the children of convicts. Where the authors use Marley to interrogate their findings about height, I use Marley to interrogate my findings about archival accuracy, by telling a story that does not just discuss his experiences as documented in the historical archive in the way that the authors do in the article, but embodies an experience of his in a way that leaps clean away from archival evidence. The story is based upon documentary evidence of Marley's sisters and brother being arrested for stealing nine pies. In my script it reads:

> "Two weeks ago I found myself in Launceston at the corner of Brisbane and the Quadrant where 140 odd years earlier Seth's brother and two sisters had been arrested for stealing nine pies. Nine pies. I imagined Seth Marley, boy thief, waiting outside the shop for the others then pelting round the corner and up the hill to safety.
>
> The theory went the further up the hill they could get the slower the baker might be running after them. They stopped halfway up George street to each cram one of the piping hot beef pies in, tongues burning skin peeling off the roof of their mouths, licking fingers and crumbs buttery pastry.
>
> The Constable caught up with them on Frederick street. Seth felt a stab of guilt in his side as the others were marched back down the hill, wise enough to keep their faces towards the river and not look back to him crouched low behind the stone wall.

> Whatever bad he felt for not getting nicked quickly turned to good, as he opened the pouch of his shirt and looked at the five remaining pies, all his. The top of one had split, smearing its greasy filling across the fabric. Seth wolfed them all and licked his shirt clean. He'd never felt so full.
>
> As he walked home through the scotch burying ground he kept an eye out for his father. Seth felt that pang of guilt return, sharp and urgent, and stopping by a headstone, hands on knees, he poured his guts out in the grass, globs of pie crust and glistening chunks of meat half chewed, the whole mess wasted."[57]

There is a wealth of archival evidence about Marley that the authors of "Prison and the Colonial Family" draw upon in the article to weave a compelling narrative of Marley's early years for a reader, creating the kind of history that historian Tom Griffiths suggests requires "mystery, imagination and style" and employs a variety of literary techniques.[58] However, despite the fact that historians can interpret archival evidence to speculate and analyse in a great many ways about people's feelings, intentions, actions, and can and must "[speak] for the dead", they do not make the dead speak.[59] *Are your z-scores getting encores?*, in contrast to a work of history, attempts to "give a voice" to Seth Marley, by recreating his thoughts, feelings, intentions and relationships through a dramatic narrative, suggesting that the events actually happened this way in the past.[60]

Rather than telling the story from the perspective of an historian analysing the evidence, I begin Marley's story from my own perspective and then quickly shift to that of an omniscient narrator with intimate insight into Marley's feelings, watching him as the events play out in his own place and time. Hilary Mantel describes her process as "get[ting] behind" a character in writing from their perspective in an historical novel.[61] In extending Mantel's image for my own

---

[57] *Are your z-scores getting encores?*, 328-329.
[58] Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel*, 249. Gilderhus, 116.
[59] Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel*, 264.
[60] Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 2: The Iron Maiden."
[61] Ibid.

praxis, by "getting behind" Marley I am somewhat obscuring my interpretative role in telling his story, offering my recreation of these events as a reality of its own rather than explicitly couching it as speculation or interpretation like an historian might.[62]

Adapting Marley's documented experiences into a descriptive narrative monologue requires an infinite number of those "small fictions" highlighted by Rosenstone.[63] This is because the archival evidence documenting the event merely gives the barest outline of the crime in that the children were "charged by Constable Carey with stealing, on Monday evening, from the shop of Mr Daniel Wilkins, Brisbane Street, nine pies" but does not give any indication of details like where and how they were apprehended, why the pies were stolen, what type of pies they were, or what happened to the pies.[64] In order to re-create this event I had to include these "small fictions" and so made choices about the route the children ran to escape the bakery, their reasons for doing so and the act of hungrily eating some of the pies before getting caught.[65] Adapting this narrative for film would require a whole host of other small fictions, like choosing actors to play the children, baking actual pies or building a set to recreate mid-nineteenth-century Launceston. While much of the story has been framed by details taken from archival evidence like the geographical layout of Launceston, Marley's father's job at the cemetery or the children's supposed fear of their father, the way I have interpreted these elements in this particular narrative cannot be supported by archival evidence because I have lifted these details from their documented context and transposed them to an imagined situation. This renders this part of *Are your z-scores getting encores?* not historically defensible.

The next layer of challenge that my Marley story tilts at archival accuracy is that Seth Marley himself was not actually placed at the pie theft in any of the documentation of the crime. There is no evidence supporting him being there at all. In addition to the necessary "small fictions" I have also engaged in what

[62] This does not mean I do not acknowledge that it is still an interpretation.
[63] Rosenstone, "Walker: The Dramatic Film as (Postmodern) History," 209.
[64] "Police Court, Launceston," *The Cornwall Chronicle*, 29/09/1875 1875.
[65] "Walker: The Dramatic Film as (Postmodern) History," 203.

Rosenstone would class as "invention" by including Marley in the plan to steal the pies and describing what he did after his siblings were caught. I characterise this as "invention," rather than Rosenstone's sister concept of "alteration," because to say that I altered archival evidence to include Marley suggests that the archival evidence represents a true record of who was involved that day, rather than just a record of who was charged. If I instead was in possession of archival evidence stating that Marley was *not* connected with the theft then perhaps then I might suggest I was engaging in "alteration."

The term "invention" is somewhat misleading, because my methods of investigating the gaps in archive (how did the theft take place, what kind of pies were they) and questioning the reliability of archival evidence (might Seth have been involved even if there was no record of it?) is not inherently ahistorical. The Founders and Survivors researchers, in reading the convict archives "against the grain," explore many of the gaps in the archive relating to the convict experience and legacy. In "Prison and the Colonial Family" the authors describe one of the ongoing challenges for historians in attempting to "extract information about private life from public records."[66] By analysing height data to explore the social or economic factors that might have influenced environmental conditions, the authors repurpose archival evidence (height data) from its original context in order to discuss experiences for which there is no explicit documentation.

This is on the surface not wholly dissimilar to my repurposing of evidence to inform a narrative about the undocumented pie theft. Historian John Fines argues that "[d]rama is in many ways very close to what historians do" in that both say "what if?" and "how come?" and suggest "let's put it another way and see how it looks.""[67] The key difference here is that the Founders and Survivors researchers frame their analysis *as history*, maintaining a traceable path to all of their sources and framing their methods as shared, established historical methods. The same cannot be said of my dramatic Marley narrative, which in

[66] Maxwell-Stewart, Inwood, and Stankovich, 231.
[67] Jackson, "Inter-acting with the Past - the use of participatory theatre at museums and heritage sites," 214.

turn makes my transposition of this evidence to suit my narrative not historically defensible.

Having established that my dramatic narrative does not have archival accuracy, I found myself faced with two choices. I could slightly alter my understanding of accuracy in order to make room for these "small fictions" and widen out my definition of history to include my imagined exploration of the gaps in the archive. Or, I could continue with this definition of accuracy and find another way of understanding how and why I repurposed this archival evidence to create a non-historically defensible dramatic narrative. I decided upon the latter.

Artistic integrity, authenticity and integrity

In order to explain why I might not wish these small fictions to be explained away by archival accuracy I will briefly introduce the notion of "artistic integrity." This will be explored in much more detail in the next chapter in thinking about the competing aims of my creative interpretations. A sense of artistic integrity is unique to every creative practitioner, and relates to their specific intentions and creative methods as artists. In considering my play script, *The Needle*, the description and embodiment of behaviour, intentions and feelings, not to mention dialogue, are all required in order for me to construct a naturalistic dramatic narrative for theatre. But these are not just necessary quirks of the medium – they are very reasons why I adapt history for theatre. To let archival accuracy devour these "small fictions" as relatively insignificant ignores my active, considered and unique creative methods and denies the aims my creative interpretations might have beyond informing an audience about history. On writing *The Coast of Utopia* (2002), Stoppard suggests that if his "purpose had been to inform" he "would have left out most of the play."[68] By maintaining my existing understanding of archival accuracy as fidelity to specific texts and acknowledging that these small fictions are incompatible with accuracy I therefore establish a constant tension in my practice between accuracy and

[68] Stoppard, xii.

artistic integrity. If I am to pursue particular elements of my creative practice that relate to my own sense of artistic integrity, it very often means doing so without archival accuracy.

So how then do I frame my engagement with archival evidence if I have not adapted it in a way that I might deem historically defensible? Like Nick Stafford, who writes scenes in his plays based upon what "could" have happened, the Marley narrative is written based upon my own measure of what "could" have happened.[69] As was seen in Cooke's criticism of the behaviour of Nella in *The Miniaturist* or the viewer decrying Aunt Juley's use of that spoon to spread jam in *Howard's End*, this measure of what "could" happen will be different for different people. I have based my story about Marley on my own individual understanding of the experiences of poverty-stricken mid-to-late nineteenth-century children in Launceston. This understanding has in part come from my engagement with archival sources about the Marleys themselves and reading the work of historians, but it has also largely been gleaned from creative interpretations like films, television series, plays, art works and novels, engaged with during my gathering stage for this research and earlier. For the majority of these creative interpretations academic histories no doubt did provide many of the "essential building blocks" in their own development, but in adapting that research these various creative interpreters will all have also engaged with their medium-specific small fictions and processes of invention and alteration to varying extents, making those academic histories very difficult to trace.[70]

By drawing on such a diversity of sources I am adapting not just history but also a version of "the past," by imagining a many layered, interactive, past world in action. Again this is not dissimilar to the historian's own process of traveling back to the past through their critical imagination, playing out ideas on a kind of internal stage in their mind to see how interpretations might hold together.[71] Rather than relating to specific texts my understanding of this past is based upon

[69] Croall, 61.
[70] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 28.
[71] Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel*, 10.

a cumulative intertextual layering of images, people, places, experiences and behaviour, drawn from many varied texts. It is from this subjective, intertextual imaginary that I have applied another kind of accuracy to tell Marley's story, one uniquely tied to my own place, time, individual socio-cultural context and the different texts I have already engaged with, rendering it completely untraceable. In exploring what "could" have happened I have not engaged with archival accuracy as fidelity, but have instead undertaken a non-evidence-based, intertextual, even "subjunctive" exploration of my understanding of the past.[72]

As well as understanding this sense of what "could" have happened through intertextuality I can also frame it as a type of "authenticity" in my praxis. By drawing upon that subjective, intertextual imaginary of my understanding about the past I meet Jenny Kidd's description of "cosmetic" authenticity. Kidd recognised cosmetic authenticity when audiences for museum theatre productions applied what they believed was an "objective framework" for authenticity, rendering something either authentic or not depending on whether it felt "real."[73] This mirrors that wider notion of perceived authenticity in a heritage context that, regardless of whether an object or site has been authenticated by an expert, if it feels "real" then it can be understood as authentic. In crafting the story of Seth Marley I was driven by what felt "real" to me in relation to my intertextual understanding of the past.

Developing narratives that are driven by authenticity means being comfortable with a creative interpretation not having archival accuracy. This is sometimes a choice made for reasons of artistic integrity – in order to explore a particular idea or tell a story in a particular way. It was also done in *Are your z-scores getting encores?* in order to explore the limits of my definition of archival accuracy in my praxis. However, it can also often be done out of necessity.

Archival accuracy exists in tension with artistic integrity, but it is also in constant tension with the practice of history and the historical archive itself. Consider the

[72] Alan Bennett, *The History Boys* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2004), 90.
[73] Kidd, 26-27.

partial, subjective nature of the convict archives. One of the challenges of pursuing archival accuracy as a primary aim is that it leaves little room to interpret aspects of the past for which there is limited archival evidence. Being driven solely by what is documented and leaving archival gaps unfilled risks perpetuating the dominant perspectives that originally shaped historical archives at the cost of minority voices or experiences.

The reasons why there might be insufficient archival evidence for a creative interpreter to draw upon about a particular subject can largely be attributed to documentation practices that, historically, privilege male, white, wealthy and educated perspectives and experiences.[74] It was recognising this bias in the archive that drove the Founders and Survivors researchers to explore the largely hidden private history of the working colonial family. Similarly, in writing her epic trilogy about Scotland's kings, *The James Plays* (2014), Rona Munro undertook rigorous research but noted that she had to have a greater leap of imagination in order to create the female characters because there was less evidence for her to rely upon.[75]

Heritage interpreter Julia Clark uses the term "integrity" to describe the ethical imperative for addressing such gaps in the archive. This is not to be confused with the notion of "artistic integrity" which I previously mentioned. Clark takes aim at heritage houses that generally privilege the grand narrative of a house's owners and ignore the experiences of staff, observing "[t]here is rarely a glimpse of the underpaid or unpaid labour that kept all the mahogany polished", let alone the labour that felled that mahogany in the first place.[76] For the majority of heritage interpretation, objects and records act as "proof" that an event or experience occurred, but the "injured, dispossessed, and expelled are left object-poor" which means we have far more material "proof" of the wealthy and great than other members of society.[77] Heritage collecting practices have traditionally

[74] Becker, 28.
[75] Munro, Sansom, and Senter.
[76] Clark, 34.
[77] Paul Williams, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemoriate Atrocities* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 25.

prioritised the objects and sites relating to these grand narratives, just as historical narratives have. In a convict heritage context a heritage interpreter today often finds themselves faced with a gap in the archive or collection when it comes to self-representative material about convicts or inmates themselves.[78]

The process of filling gaps in archival evidence can be undertaken through historical methods of "reading against the grain" or in identifying previously unrecognised archival sources through oral history, but it can also be done by creative interpreters using techniques not available to historians. A focus on integrity for a creative interpreter can mean shifting away from archival accuracy and historical defensibility and exploring embodied, experiential or imagined analysis of a particular perspective. Clark describes her own work at Port Arthur in developing creative sound, light and photographic displays to pursue "integrity," and similar approaches can be seen in the creative interpretation of convict history at the Museum of Sydney and the Hyde Park Barracks.[79] This concept of integrity argues an ethical, rather than artistic, case for creatively interpreting without archival accuracy.

Competing agendas

An understanding of archival accuracy as fidelity to specific texts provided me with a more disciplined, evidence-based approach to accuracy. However, it also meant that a great deal of my creative interpretation practice could thus not be deemed historically defensible. Whilst I would argue that some parts of *Are your z-scores getting encores?* are historically defensible, my dramatic narrative about Seth Marley is not. My inclusion of it regardless speaks to the tension between accuracy and artistic integrity in my praxis, in that many of my creative methods specific to the medium I am working in require sacrificing archival accuracy. It is perhaps for similar reasons that creative interpretations like the novels of

[78] Daniels, *Convict Women*, 243; Wilson, "Australian Prison Tourism: A Question of Narrative Integrity."
[79] Clark, 37; Gregory.

Philippa Gregory or Jessie Burton, or the plays of Michael Frayn, whilst having a focus on accuracy, do not provide the same kind of referencing as an historian.

However, it is not just that these creative interpreters might not be able to provide an historian's level of referencing. They may not wish to. Providing references for a creative interpretation implies that it *should* be measured as either accurate or not and belies the impossible task of a creative interpretation in ever being deemed wholly defensible by the same measure as a work of history. To ascribe a fixed sense of whether a creative interpretation is accurate also risks positioning it back into a hierarchy with history, with the assumption that a creative interpretation that is more historically defensible has more worth than one that is less. Rosenstone notes a morally-loaded hierarchy in the way films based on history are largely considered not as "worthwhile" or "true" compared to written histories. According to Rosenstone "[s]uch a notion seems to arise from a sense that words are able to provide a serious and complex past reality" that film, in comparison, "can never hope to match" due to its "supposed need to entertain people."[80]

This suspicion of the ability of visuals to match the worth of words can also be seen in the challenges that literature-to-screen adaptations face outside of the field of adaptation studies, where the novel is often considered primary and the film secondary, not just in a temporal sense but in terms of its sense of worth. This hierarchy reflects what Robert Stam refers to as "iconophobia (a suspicion of the visual)" and "logophilia (love of the word as sacred)."[81] It was this insidious morally-loaded hierarchy that perhaps influenced my initial understanding of the relationship between a creative interpretation and history through terms of "authority."

This attitude is actively challenged by adaptation studies where the texts are seen in a non-hierarchical context. The reason that adaptation studies theorists use the term "knowing" to describe audiences familiar with a source text is

[80] Rosenstone, "Walker: The Dramatic Film as (Postmodern) History," 202.
[81] Hutcheon, 4.

because, according to Hutcheon, knowing "suggests being savvy and street-smart, as well as knowledgeable" which then "undercuts some of the elitist associations" with having a familiarity with a source text and thus maintains the focus of adaptation studies as being more than just gauging an adapted text by its fidelity to a source text.[82] However, this does not stop a sense of hierarchy pervading discussions of literature-to-screen adaptations outside of the academy. This hierarchy is particularly pronounced in the adaptation of classic literature or plays by Shakespeare where any adaptation will largely be considered inherently "unfaithful" and inferior because the source text has such cultural authority.[83] This morally-loaded sense of hierarchy follows traditional systems of high and low culture and is supported by ideas of expertise and connoisseurship.[84] Theatre director Peter Brook noted this in the 1960s in relation to theatre productions of Shakespeare, in that:

> "one associates culture with a certain sense of duty, historical costumes and long speeches with the sensation of being bored; so, conversely, just the right degree of boringness is a reassuring guarantee of a worthwhile event."[85]

In this case the sacred nature of a source text by Shakespeare renders it "worthwhile" even if a production might have been unsuccessful by any number of other measures.

This high-low culture hierarchy can also be seen between history and heritage, with history being the more traditional, high-culture medium, focusing on the pursuit of knowledge, and heritage acting as secondary in being more entertaining and populist compared to history.[86] Brook's comment might be applied to a creative interpretation in being deemed "worthwhile" because it is

[82] Ibid., 121.
[83] Corrigan, 33.
[84] Nicklas and Lindner, 2.
[85] Peter Brook, *The Empty Space* (UK: Penguin Books, 1968 / 1990), 13.
[86] Albert Grundlingh, "A Cultural Conundrum? Old Monuments and New Regimes: The Voortrekker Monuments as Symbol of Afrikaner Power in a Postapartheid South Africa," *Radical History Review* 81, no. 1 (2001).

considered historically defensible, despite audiences "being bored," or being confused, marginalised or excluded. The elements that might make a creative interpretation "worthwhile" beyond it being historical defensible indicate that a creative interpretation often has many competing agendas apart from accuracy.

Historians might profess to primarily be driven by "the relentless critique of sources" and generally avoid being drawn on discussions of why else they might be writing history in regards to entertainment or any economic imperatives. In contrast, creative interpretations are often explicitly developed with multiple aims, including to educate, entertain or provide a particular embodied, experiential or emotional engagement with history or the past.[87] Many creative interpretations in wider professional practice often also have an economic imperative in order to draw particular audiences.

Often these multiple aims can work in opposition with one another, depending on the particular expectations of particular audiences. Hilary Mantel notes this in that "[t]he historian will always wonder why you left certain things out, while the literary critic will wonder why you put them in."[88] James Gibb, the archaeologist turned playwright, criticises some theatre based on history as "bad history well told" because there is a lack of evidence supporting creative choices, despite being an engaging or entertaining performance.[89] Hughes, Jackson and Kidd suggest that a focus on entertainment can often be the reason a museum theatre production can be deemed unsuccessful, and implicit here is that an entertainment agenda can overshadow a remit to communicate the museum's educational aims.[90] Much of the research into museum theatre analyses the effectiveness of theatre as an education tool in a museum context in balancing aesthetic and pedagogic agendas.[91]

---

[87] Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel*, 264.
[88] Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 4: Can these bones live?."
[89] Gibb, 546.
[90] Hughes, Jackson, and Kidd, 692.
[91] Hughes, "Theatre Performance in Museums: Art and Pedagogy."; "Performance for learning: How emotions play a part." Jackson, "The dialogic and the aesthetic: some reflections on theatre as a learning medium."

This accuracy and artistic integrity tension reflects a wider tension in a heritage context between education and entertainment which can be marked as far back as Victorian-era Great Exhibition organisers who knew that they needed "the right mix of instruction and diversion" so as to bring in the crowds whilst maintaining a sense of core integrity.[92] The education-entertainment tension is today discussed widely in relation to heritage interpretation and museum theatre. As a field, museum theatre developed in parallel with wider shifts in museums that saw them turn from object-focused to visitor-focused sites, competing for audiences alongside the likes of zoos, shopping malls and cinemas.[93] In order to attract audiences in a funding environment that increasingly required museums to justify their public subsidy through audience engagement, museums had to become places of not just education but also entertainment.[94] Museum theatre was increasingly used as a strategy to interpret sites and collections and engage with visitors in a way that would be entertaining. The shift in audience-focussed and entertaining interpretation strategies was not just a cynical grab for audiences but was supported by twentieth-century pedagogical theories that suggested flexible, interactive and even entertaining tools make for optimum learning.[95] These also heralded shifts in school and university pedagogical practices and were supported by a postmodern understanding of knowledge as being relative and subjective, pushing against more traditional positivist learning strategies.

The tension between education and entertainment is therefore both inevitable but also necessary, because in a heritage context neither can nor should exist without the other. Catherine Hughes developed a method to study audience responses to museum theatre and concluded that the optimum audience response came from reading a performance both "efferently" and "aesthetically," allowing the two agendas of gaining knowledge and seeking enjoyment to

---

[92] Peter Vergo, "The Reticent Object," in *The New Museology*, ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books, 1989), 58.
[93] Hughes, "Performance for learning: How emotions play a part," 13.
[94] Ibid., 29.
[95] Hughes, Jackson, and Kidd, 686.

support and strengthen each other.[96] The competing agendas of a creative interpretation need not always be at war but can in fact support one another.

Having established some of these competing agendas in my praxis I began to develop answers for my second and third research questions:

- How do I negotiate the tension between "historical accuracy" and "artistic integrity" in my praxis?
- What role does authenticity play in my praxis?

When I formulated these questions I was not aware of just how interwoven the concepts would be. As a consequence of defining "historical accuracy" as archival accuracy, I set in motion an undercurrent of tension between accuracy and artistic integrity, and found that "authenticity" could be used to explain how else I might engage with history and the past beyond archival accuracy. My pursuit of authenticity was therefore also in constant tension with accuracy and artistic integrity. It became apparent that there were in fact three more key considerations to be negotiated alongside accuracy, artistic integrity and authenticity: the ethical imperative to fill gaps in the archive in the form of "integrity," the need for my creative interpretations to be "accessible" for their intended audience, and the inescapable economic limitations that I was working within. In order to navigate a path amongst these six aims in my praxis I realised I would need a compass.

[96] Hughes, "Theatre Performance in Museums: Art and Pedagogy," 41.

CHAPTER 7 The Compass

Navigating between Accessibility, Accuracy, Authenticity, Integrity, Artistry and Accounting

Introducing the Creative Interpretation Compass

Having established that creative interpretations can have a range of different agendas compared to the practice of history I needed a way to negotiate all of these different agendas in my praxis, not just the tension between accuracy and artistic integrity as my initial research question suggested. To do this, I designed a navigational tool for myself: a Creative Interpretation Compass.

Fig. 3 The Creative Interpretation Compass

A compass, in its most basic sense, helps work out where you are and where you are going. By pointing towards magnetic North it allows a user to then identify the other cardinal directions, which means it can be used as both an orientation and a navigation tool. My Creative Interpretation Compass has as its cardinal directions Accessibility, Accounting, Integrity, Authenticity, Accuracy and Artistry.

- "Accessibility" relates to an understanding of intended audience, and the touchstones and points of familiarity that will support an audience's engagement with a creative interpretation.
- "Accounting" includes all of the logistical and economic considerations that significantly shape the development of a creative interpretation.
- "Integrity" was raised in the previous chapter and relates to the ethical imperative to fill gaps in the historical archive.
- "Authenticity" is a multifaceted term, but in the Compass I apply it in relation to Jenny Kidd's "cosmetic authenticity" in exploring what feels "real," drawing on my intertextual imagined version of the past.[1]
- "Accuracy" was established in the previous chapter through my definition of archival accuracy and historical defensibility.
- "Artistry" relates to my own sense of artistic integrity. Of all of the cardinal directions my discussion of "Artistry" in this chapter will be the least exhaustive because it encompasses the whole gamut of my creative methods, techniques and aims as an artist.

The Compass gave me a way of categorising why I was making particular creative choices and demonstrated that to make a choice in one direction usually meant moving away from another. Whilst archival accuracy is necessarily of the utmost importance to historians it is just one consideration for the creative interpreter. When using a regular compass you are not just traveling not-North, you are travelling South, or East or West. The Compass demonstrates that a move away from archival accuracy can often be an active choice in pursuit of another aim. Critics who highlight a lack of archival accuracy in a creative interpretation often do so without also articulating an acknowledgement that another choice might have been prioritised. There is often an assumption that a choice away from accuracy is done out of ignorance or accident, rather than as a considered, deliberate choice. Ignorance and accidents are of course inevitable features of any practice, creative or not, but the Compass provides evidence that other agendas are always at play and that archival *in*-accuracy can often be an active choice.

[1] Kidd, 26-27.

The cardinal directions on a regular compass are evenly spaced and ostensibly of equal value, as they are on my Compass. Rather than reducing the importance of Accuracy this elevates these other considerations to be of equal value. This does not mean that I went in every direction to equal measure in my creative interpretations, just that there was not an inherent sense of hierarchy between them inbuilt within the Compass itself.

In order for a compass to be an orientation tool it is designed to point magnetic North. By finding North the user of a compass can gauge the direction they do wish to travel in. When using my Compass, magnetic North was different for every creative interpretation. For *Oh Hi There History* it was Accessibility, where first and foremost the driving aim was to make the Founders and Survivors research accessible for a family history audience. For *Are your z-scores getting encores?* North was Accuracy, because I was presenting to an audience of historians and had to at all times be aware of what the historically defensible choice might be so as to then consciously and carefully move away from it. For *The Needle* North was Artistry – first and foremost I wanted to create an engaging and well-crafted play.

This chapter will now focus on my application of the Compass in developing *OHTH* and *The Needle.* The focus of this chapter is to demonstrate my use of the Compass, rather than provide an exhaustive description of each cardinal direction, each of which could easily fill a chapter in themselves. On a stylistic note, whenever I make reference to one of the cardinal directions in this chapter I will refer to it as a proper noun (Accessibility).

Accessibility

The choices I made in pursuit of Accessibility in developing *OHTH* were based on my knowledge about my intended audience and the imperative to shape an interpretation for a specific audience in a heritage context. One of the persistent challenges of creatively interpreting quantitative history is that the

methodologies used by quantitative historians can often be highly specialised and opaque for the non-quantitative historian attempting to understand the research. In adapting the Founders and Survivors publications to be accessible for a family history audience in *OHTH* I used two key strategies:

- reducing and simplifying
- providing extra informative scaffolding.

An example of simplification can be seen in *Episode 2: The Convict Archive*, where instead of explaining the detailed processes of transcription and record linkage within the Founders and Survivors database I simplified them considerably:

> LYDIA: Researchers transcribe the information from the convict archives into a database. Deciphering that old writing so it's much easier to read…
> …The transcribed data is then uploaded into a big database where each convict has their own unique entry that gets added to as more records are transcribed.[2]

In *Episode 4: The Voyage* I simplified the complexity of the researchers' description of the Surgeon Superintendents' journals as an archival source*:*

> QUANTITATIVE HISTORIAN: Our data comes from the journals kept by the Surgeon Superintendents.
> LYDIA: Kind of like your teenage diary, if as a teenager you were a doctor onboard a convict ship and had to record each day who was sick and who died.[3]
> SURGEON: Dear Diary, someone had dysentery.[4]

In both cases by choosing to simplify one aspect of the methodology I have prioritized certain information as being necessary to understand in detail and

[2] *OHTH Episode 3: Quantitative History*
[3] *OHTH Episode 4: The Voyage*
[4] *OHTH Episode 4: The Voyage*

other information as being tangential to the main point. The exact techniques used by transcribers or database technicians to build the database are, in *OHTH*, less pressing for audiences to understand than the opportunities that are subsequently made available by the database. Similarly, the details of the Surgeons' journals as an archival source do not necessarily provide a deeper understanding of the research in regards to the aims of this episode.

Apart from the inherent subjectivity of these choices in meeting my own measure of accessibility, the risk that comes with simplifying a methodology is that it can smooth over difficult concepts that might actually be integral to an understanding of the research. My simplification of the transcription and linkage process in the first example belies the range of human or systemic errors that might take place in building the Founders and Survivors database and thus affect the findings of the researchers. Consistent errors in a database can wreak havoc with research.

There is also a risk that in characterising these processes as relatively simple it suggests that there might be one way of doing them, and that therefore they might be objective, and not the highly subjective and interpretative acts that they actually are. Every aspect of both the development and subsequent use of the convict archives is influenced by cultural, political and social factors. The process of building the database is akin to Gale and Featherstone's notion of "archiving the already archived," in that when an archive is remade and reorganized by contemporary researchers it can be constructed in a way that either supports or overturns an existing ideological bias or historical perspective, and this inevitably affects any resulting meaning-making.[5] The Founders and Survivors database, like any mass archival database, organizes information in a particular way that suits research needs and thus "remakes" the archive. This is a key aspect of the transcription and data linkage process that becomes hidden through my simplistic explanation in *OHTH*. The process of transcribing and

[5] Maggie B Gale and Ann Featherstone, "The Imperative of the Archive: Creative Archive Research," in *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance*, ed. Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 21.

linking information about individual convicts is also highly shaped by the particular time period, available technology and the researchers' abilities to use the technology – this process would be entirely different in 2018 compared to ten or perhaps even five years earlier.[6]

The other technique I found for making a complex methodology more accessible for a non-specialised audience was to include extra information, or scaffolding to support meaning-making. An example of this can be seen in *Episode 2: The Convict Archive* when I provide a brief timeline of how historians' relationships with the convict archives have developed over the twentieth century. None of this information was included within the Founders and Survivors publications themselves but I decided that understanding this wider context would facilitate a greater understanding of the specific methods used by the Founders and Survivors researchers. The inclusion of wider scaffolding is consistent with my adaptation framework in understanding the web-series as a palimpsest of texts and contexts.

While simplification reduces content, scaffolding increases it. By aiming for each finished episode of *OHTH* to be around five minutes long, a length appropriate for the vlog-style genre, I had to gradually increase the number of episodes in the series from four to eight in order to accommodate my wider scaffolding. The final version of the series begins with three scaffolding episodes that set up key methodological concepts relating to the convict archives and the practice of quantitative history. I then simplified the methodology and findings for each of the three publications, distilling "Sickness and Death on Convict Voyages to Australia" into one episode (Episode 4) and stretching "And all my great hardships endured…" (Episodes 5 and 6) and "Prison and the Colonial Family" (Episodes 7 and 8) to cover two episodes each.

Other choices that were designed to make my discussion of quantitative data and methods more accessible in *OHTH* included integrating visual representations of the data into my discussion like timelines, dates, numbers, graphs and tables, and

[6] Deswarte, 284.

using analogies to make complex concepts more relatable for my intended audience. For example:

> LYDIA: In the game of life that was a convict's time in the colony it pretty much played out like my regular Saturday night. Try to hook up.[7]

In the chapter *Adapting History* I discussed in detail some of the ways that I drew upon knowledge about my intended audience and the medium I was adapting for in order to layer texts and tropes to make *OHTH* accessible. This included developing the character of Lydia as a student and family historian, rather than an academic historian, which influenced the voice I used to discuss the findings. In writing his *Horrible Histories* (1993-2013) for young readers, Terry Deary avoids positioning himself as an academic historian who can "preach or teach" about history which might alienate his audience. He instead positions himself at a similar level to his reader, finding ways to "share [his] enthusiasm" for a topic and using a voice that says "Hey! You'll never guess what I found out about this period in history!"[8] Similarly Hilary Mantel advises historical novelists that:

> "There's a lot of use in a stupid character, one who has to be told twice. There's more use in a stranger – some newcomer who can ask the questions the reader wants to ask." [9]

Whilst the character of Lydia is by no means stupid, she is unfamiliar with the research and is a stranger to the audience. This allows her to introduce or explain a whole host of introductory concepts. There is less use in a character who asks a lot of questions if there is no-one there to answer them, and while vlogs open up technological opportunities to ask audiences questions and crowd-source answers, I chose to position the character of Lydia in conversation with other characters. The Quantitative Historian character serves an obvious function in answering many of Lydia's questions and clarifying and explaining

---

[7] *OHTH Episode 6: Marriage*
[8] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 230-31.
[9] Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 4: Can these bones live?."

the aspects of the Founders and Survivors research that she does not understand, mirroring the student-teacher relationship in an educational context. Similarly, whenever Lydia mentions contemporary concepts like "data" or "postmodernism" that were not prevalent during the convict era, by explaining them to the Lieutenant-Governor she also explains them to the audience.

The characters all represent some of the key stakeholders in the Founders and Survivors research (quantitative historian, colonial administration, convict) and each stands in for a range of attitudes, methods and ways of seeing the research that add layers of meaning whenever that character appears onscreen. I found this particularly useful in demonstrating the unreliability of the archive. I establish early in the series that the Lieutenant-Governor's statements, and thus the archives themselves, are highly influenced by his opinion of the convicts. The layering of experiences, attitudes and time periods signified by each character act as another kind of wider scaffolding and allowed me to simplify dialogue whilst still communicating a lot of information.

I pursued Accessibility in quite different ways in developing *The Needle*. The play begins in the present day with history professor, Richard, and emerging historian, Amelia, pitching their research to Michael, a billionaire entrepreneur who has returned home to Tasmania to fund a local project. I used those twin techniques of simplification and scaffolding in shaping Michael and Amelia's discussion of their research so that it would be accessible for non-historian Michael and, simultaneously, the largely non-historian intended theatre audience for *The Needle*. The historians try unsuccessfully to convince Michael to fund their research – before Anna arrives. Anna is the ghost of an Irish convict and ancestor to Michael, invisible to everyone (including the audience) except for Amelia who was responsible for summoning her from the archives. With Amelia translating, Anna slowly draws the characters into the story of her arrival in Van Diemen's Land. In this section of *The Needle* I explore Accessibility in quite a different way, highlighting some of the ways that it can be problematic as an aim.

When the character of Anna is first introduced and we begin to "hear" Anna's words they are mediated through Amelia who listens to Anna's words, unheard by Richard or Michael (or the audience), and then relays them back. This moment is an adaptation of the relationship I have as creative interpreter with the historical and archival material that I am adapting, in that my various audiences are largely unaware of the source texts themselves and only engage with my interpretation of them. The same is true for the historian who interprets archival sources for an audience who do not have immediate access to the sources themselves. Here Amelia is literally the conduit rendering the archives – Anna – accessible for others.

Amelia initially only asks questions for which there would be recorded archival evidence. Anna and Amelia's initial exchange is an embodiment of the "cat and mouse game" that took place in the formation of the convict records to begin with "where the state attempted to gather the information that it needed to control and effectively exploit its charges, whereas the convict tried to conceal and obfuscate as much as possible."[10] It is a one-way information exchange where Anna, as the convict, is revealing only what she is asked and Amelia and Richard, taking on the role of the state or colonial officials, are asking all of the questions.

As well as voicing Anna's silent words Amelia also interprets them to make more sense in coming out of her own month, often shifting them from Anna's first-person narrative voice, as she "hears it", into a third-person voice:

> RICHARD: And where were you born?
> AMELIA: *(beat)* She says Dublin, Ireland.
> RICHARD: And do you know when?
> AMELIA: *(beat)* She doesn't.[11]

[10] Maxwell-Stewart, "The State, Convicts and Longitudinal Analysis," 418.
[11] *The Needle*, 295.

When Amelia adapts Anna's answers to third-person she also slightly changes them, which seeds a tension between Accuracy and Accessibility. It is when Amelia starts to make those choices around points of morality or matters of opinion that this tension becomes most apparent. Anna berates Amelia for her changes, and Amelia's response is that she is just "interpreting" – the prerogative of any historian:

> AMELIA: She says they sailed past a dead whale. And it smelt really bad.
> *(To ANNA)* That's what I said Anna. I'm not making it up, I'm interpreting.[12]

This exchange demonstrates one of the wider issues at play for the creative interpreter – decisions about what should be altered for accessibility are entirely subjective. They can also often be driven by notions of appropriateness or taboos. Jacqueline Wilson is critical of penal heritage sites that over-employ accessibility by "glossing over [some] of the harsher aspects of prison life" in order to "render the narratives 'fun, light and entertaining'" for public audiences who might recoil from narratives involving suicide, violence or inmates' sexuality.[13] In *The Needle* Amelia tries to sanitise Anna's words, baulking at the prospect of describing Anna's sex life:

> He said he wanted to –
> *(to ANNA)* I'm not saying that.
> *(beat)* Anna I'm at work. *(beat)* No there's nothing wrong with it. I'm just not comfortable with – this is work.
> RICHARD: Be faithful Amelia. Whatever she says.
> AMELIA: *(beat)* He fucked me so hard I thought I'd split in two.[14]

Where sanitising content might make a creative interpretation accessible for some audiences, difficult or potentially polarising content can, somewhat

[12] *The Needle*, 297.
[13] Wilson, "Australian Prison Tourism: A Question of Narrative Integrity," 567.
[14] *The Needle*, 301.

paradoxically, also be included for the same reason. Jerome de Groot notes the propensity for historical dramas to use violence or "grittiness" so as to make ideas resonate with a contemporary audience.[15] On *Rome* (2005-07), a television series based in Ancient Rome, de Groot highlights the show's emphasis on the "dirt, squalor and violence of the city" and suggests that this "grittiness" aims to "situate the historical period in a set of familiar contemporary tropes" telling the audience that "these people are much like you."[16] By emphasising violent or disgusting elements of history the historical content becomes more accessible to an audience who can see parallels in their own time. A similar approach can be seen in the "mess of real life" of Joe Wright's 2005 adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice*, described as "the muddy-hem version," which attempted to avoid a mythic, "picturesque" take on Austen's world and instead make the production feel more contemporary, and thus perhaps relatable.[17] The *Horrible Histories* series specialises in the gory, gross and gruesome aspects of history, and Deary uses these elements as accessible enticements for young audiences keen to read about the parts of history their teachers might not feel comfortable discussing.[18]

Jerome de Groot describes this use of "grittiness" as a kind of authenticity. [19] In a similar way to my framing Authenticity in the Compass through deciding whether something "feels real," the inclusion of elements like violence or dirt can make the past feel more "real" by making it relatable. Where this can be used to make the past more accessible, it also serves as a counterpoint to contemporary anxieties about "inauthentic" life today, drawing upon that tourism industry usage of "authenticity" as a foil to modern life.[20] In discussing Wild West television drama *Deadwood* (2004-06), de Groot explains that the emphasis on "mud and muck" situates the streets of Deadwood as different from the "clean, sanitised – and somehow less authentic – modern world."[21] In a similar way, reality televisions shows based on history place contestants into situations that

[15] de Groot, *Consuming History*, 198.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Troost, 86.
[18] For example see Terry Deary, *Vile Victorians* (UK: Scholastic, 1994).
[19] de Groot, *Consuming History*, 198.
[20] Wang, 360.
[21] de Groot, *Consuming History*, 200.

show the past as a process of "privation," removed from the comforts of modern life, where contestants and audiences alike gauge whether they could "cope" in this strange world.[22] I incorporate this kind of grittiness when Anna stitches up Nielson's wound:

> Hands slippery and hot, I wiped them down my skirt front and set to work, threading the needle and then piercing it through the two edges of skin, slowly pulling sides together, careful not to pull too tight too quick. The black thread was dense with blood, it caught and clogged as I pulled it through each hole.[23]

In Anna's world there are no trips to the Emergency Room for stitches, instead all it takes is a cool head and a steady hand. This serves to demonstrate the gulf of difference between the past and an audience's present, which in turn can make the content accessible because it positions the past at a comfortable, viewable distance from the present. In this way de Groot's notion of gritty authenticity can paradoxically bring audiences closer to a past world whilst simultaneously reminding them of their distance from it. In both cases it serves to make a creative interpretation more accessible.

Accounting

Television shows like *Deadwood* or *Rome* have very large production budgets, allowing the creative team to hire a slew of designers and craftspeople to create all of that "dirt, squalor", "mud and muck".[24] By comparison, I worked with a microscopic budget for *OHTH*. This obviously then shaped the kind of equipment, crew, sets, costumes, actors or special effects I could afford in making the series. In pursuing the cardinal direction of Accounting I sought to stay within my budget, which had a huge effect on my creative choices. My budget could not, for example, afford to film on location at any overseas historical sites or build

[22] Ibid., 172.
[23] *The Needle*, 305.
[24] de Groot, *Consuming History*, 198, 200.

extensive sets, nor could I afford to hire period-authentic costumes or props. Even if I had decided that creating a *Deadwood*-style recreation of convict life would support my aims for Accessibility I would not have been able to do it.

It is relatively rare to hear frank discussions about the manner in which budgets impact upon creative interpretations, just as it is rare to hear money discussed in relation to most artists' work. However, economics wields a massive influence on any engagement with the past. Having a large production budget might mean creating painstakingly detailed sets and costumes, applying the latest computer-generated graphics, or having access to particular locations. These considerations all in turn contribute in shaping an audience's engagement with the past. Many historical films set in nineteenth-century London or New York are actually filmed in the city of Liverpool because it is financially and logistically more efficient and much of the architecture looks similar.[25] Using Liverpool buildings to stand in for London's for reasons of Accounting invariably shapes an audience member's understanding of the past, adding a "counterfeit London" into a viewer's intertextual deck.[26]

Accounting does not just mean having to make budget-imposed choices, it can also be used to describe the shaping of a creative interpretation for particular economic aspirations or markets. This might mean adapting with a particular audience in mind. Historian Daniel Lee described the Second World War film *U-571* (2000) as "depicting the wrong country capturing the wrong material at the wrong time from the wrong submarine".[27] These moves away from archival evidence, according to one of the one of the film's scriptwriters, were done as "a mercenary decision to create this parallel history in order to drive the movie for an American audience."[28] Many of the reasons why a creative interpretation might seek to be accessible for a particular audience can also be framed as trying to attract that audience for economic reasons.

---

[25] Liverpool Film Office, "Locations," http://www.liverpoolfilmoffice.tv/locations/.
[26] In this case it is "counterfeit" only in that it is not geographically London.
[27] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 182.
[28] Ibid.

I also include within Accounting considerations like time, distance, scheduling or availability because they are often driven by economic factors. When screenwriter Andrew Davies began to adapt Dickens' nineteenth-century novel *Bleak House* for the BBC, he was informed that it was scheduled to air in the evening after the soap *East Enders* and thus was expected to capture that audience's immediate attention so they would not change the channel.[29] This decision about the series, made beyond Davies' control as writer, then shaped his approach to the adaptation, and thus his engagement with the past.

My choice to write *The Needle* as a script but not produce it on stage as part of this thesis was in part driven by Accounting. Without the aim to stage the play within my current budgetary and time constraints I could make a whole host of creative interpretation choices that would otherwise have been impossible, including writing for a cast of four professional actors and including various technical and design directions within the script. Any creative team who adapt *The Needle* for stage will themselves be bound by their own economic or logistical considerations and I was aware of this while writing it. The budgetary limitations for even the largest theatre companies in Australia mean that a play is far more likely to be staged professionally if it has a small cast.

As with Accessibility, *The Needle* also critically engages with Accounting. Historians, like any field of academia, are increasingly driven by economic aims and constraints in competing for funding from public grants or industry in order to undertake their research and must increasingly defend the legitimacy of their research to an institution in terms of the income it generates. Richard and Amelia's funding pitch to Michael is not so far removed from the many grant applications and funding presentations that historians and projects like the Founders and Survivors project must be successful in in order to execute their research. These kinds of applications often include a benefit section in which researchers must show how their endeavours might result in benefits, including

[29] Cartmell and Whelehan, "A practical understanding of literature on screen: two conversations with Andrew Davies," 247.

economic benefits, for contemporary Australians. *The Needle* takes this aspect of contemporary academia and magnifies it through Michael's overtly mercantile approach to research:

> MICHAEL: With my technology we find ways to match people's desires to our products. That's how my company has made seven billion in three years. It's seeing what people want and giving it to them. If you can find a way to match people's online profile to a convict ancestor and send them a picture of their convict wearing the latest sneakers, then we're onto something.[30]

The nuances and necessary instabilities of archival history do not sit well with these kind of economic expectations. Knowing this, Richard and Amelia shift the aims of their research, pitching the project that they believe will be more likely to be funded. The convict archive becomes a kind of commodity for researchers to market to prospective funders. This then raises ethical issues in the way researchers, or wider industry, use archival material, mirroring similar issues relating to the commercialisation of the past in a heritage context.[31] None of this is intended to be a comment on the Founders and Survivors project itself, but rather the problematic nature of the contemporary academic landscape that encourages researchers to set the magnetic North of their own Compass towards Accounting.

No creative interpretation is developed in an economic vacuum with unlimited options where the makers simply choose the "best" path to go down. The process of creative interpretation is always a complex interplay of various needs, wants and limitations. To ignore the influence that economic considerations can have on a creative interpretation does not just ignore some of the key factors influencing why a creative interpretation has been developed to engage with the

---

[30] *The Needle*, 286.
[31] Stone, 153. Godfrey, *Crime in England: 1880 - 1945*, 97. Daniels, "Cults of Nature: Cults of History," 3.

past in a particular way, but also renders invisible the creative interpreter's (or historian's) skill in potentially surmounting these economic obstacles.

Authenticity

"Authenticity" was established in the previous chapter as a multifaceted term, differing in application both between and within a range of disciplines. In her analysis of the different ways that museum theatre audiences can apply "authenticity," Jenny Kidd suggested that rather than asking "[w]hat is authenticity?" the crucial questions should instead be "who needs authenticity and why?" and "how has authenticity been used?"[32]

In my praxis I needed a way to describe my adaptation of archival evidence when I decontextualized, transposed, altered or invented information to such an extent that I could not argue that I was pursuing archival accuracy, but that still looked and "felt" like it might have had archival accuracy. Authenticity proved to be the most useful way of understanding this in my praxis. Jenny Kidd characterises this kind of authenticity, where a seemingly objective framework is applied to decide whether something does or does not feel "real," as "cosmetic authenticity."[33] In my praxis I would adapt and repurpose evidence in a way that, to me, felt "real" even though my choices could not be directly supported by the archive.

My gauge for whether something felt "real" or not comes from a palimpsest of texts I have engaged with including Founders and Survivors research, other works of history, museums and heritage sites, historical novels, films and plays that all build together to give me a layered, individualised understanding of the past. This palimpsest of the convict past is heavily informed by the work of historians, but because it also includes a great many non-archival evidence-based interpretations of the past, I do not frame it as an understanding of history.

[32] Kidd, 25.
[33] Ibid., 26-27.

My definition of authenticity proved particularly useful while writing Anna's narrative in *The Needle*. I adapted my intertextual palimpsest of the convict past to describe Anna's experiences, finding ways to make her work and walk and talk and feel that felt "real" for her place and time. At some points I did this by adapting behaviours and narrative tropes from Victorian-era literature. The scene where Anna assists an injured Nielson late at night in his study draws upon Jane and Rochester's late-night meetings in *Jane Eyre* (1847). This might lead knowing audiences who recognise the connection to presume that Anna and Nielson's relationship may well follow the same path. *The Needle* subverts this expectation by taking Anna and Nielson's relationship into surprising territory, showing her to be a heroine quite unlike Eyre and not uniting the two characters in a lasting romantic relationship. However, by basing the setup of their relationship on this well-known trope I endeavoured to make it feel "real."

I also crafted much of Anna's dialogue in a way that felt "real" for a nineteenth-century convict. A common technique in writing historical fiction that can similarly be applied to playwriting is "immersion," where "vocabulary, sentence structure and spelling are all faithfully reproduced" from archival sources as a means of demonstrating authenticity.[34] However, contemporary readers and audiences can often struggle with immersion-style language if it removes them too much from their own speech patterns and ways of understanding the world. Many writers adapt this style for the contemporary reader through "hybridization."[35] Novelist David Mitchell names this kind of hybrid dialect created by historical novelists as "Bygonese," a kind of language "which is inaccurate but plausible. Like a coat of antique-effect varnish on a pine new dresser, it is both synthetic and the least-worst solution."[36]

I have employed this method of hybridization in developing Anna's dialogue – making it "plausible" or feel "real" without actually having archival accuracy. I

---

[34] Bryony D Stocker, "'Bygonese' - Is This Really the Authentic Language of Historical Fiction?," *New Writing* 9, no. 3 (2012): 311.
[35] Ibid., 313.
[36] David Mitchell, "David Mitchell on Historical Fiction," *The Telegraph*, 08 May 2010.

have avoided using contemporary slang and written in a kind of Bygonese that draws upon old-fashioned phrases, mythical imagery and ideas of good and evil:

> "There was a whale off the side, stunk to high heaven. Blubber and blood and bones. Never seen a whale before, bigger than I thought. There were these huge sharks swimming round about, chewing chunks off, flicking their tails. One of them looked at me, with its eye, and bared its teeth, and snarled this awful noise, and I thought this place is cursed."[37]

My use of rhythm and choice of words to give a sense of Anna's Irish accent mirrors Kate Grenville's assertion in her own work that phrasing can be more evocative of character than writing an accent phonetically.[38]

This idea of "cosmetic" authenticity relating to language can also be applied to the sound of dialogue and the particular accent or vocal quality a performer uses. Like "immersion" this approach to authenticity can also easily become more distracting and distancing than beneficial. Actor Tom Hardy was criticised for his at times unintelligible vocal quality in the film *The Revenant* (2015):

> "Hardy's redneck villain talks in a series of impenetrable mumbles, yells and slightly unnecessary open-mouthed chewing noises. For all anyone knows, this is a spot-on approximation of a fur trapper in 19th-century Montana. But to the modern ear, it's nightmarish."[39]

Whilst I am not in control of the way an actor might perform the dialogue in *The Needle* when it is adapted for stage, I did insert stage directions to stipulate the use of an Irish accent in one scene. When Amelia is attempting to "faithfully reproduce" Anna's narrative she attempts to do it in an Irish accent, like Anna's, in order to capture her words as "authentically" as possible:

---

[37] *The Needle*, 298.
[38] Grenville, 206.
[39] Stuart Heritage, "Ranking the accents of Tom Hardy: cockney, Welsh, or unintelligible?," *The Guardian*, 30 January 2017.

AMELIA: *(with an attempt at an Irish accent)* "There was a whale off the side, stunk - " stunk – stunk
RICHARD: What?
AMELIA: *(with a worse Irish accent)* "There was a whale off the side, stunk to high heaven- "
MICHAEL: I thought she was from Dublin?
AMELIA: *(bad Irish accent)* There was a whale off the side -
MICHAEL: *(perfect Irish accent)* There was a whale of the side - [40]

The characters demonstrate the fallibility of an approach to authenticity in that it can come at the cost of understanding or accessibility by being unintelligible or rendering something serious as silly. It also highlights the way different individuals will have different readings of authenticity – Michael and Amelia clearly do not have the same experience of Irish accents.

I focussed heavily on Authenticity to construct Anna's world and describe her experiences. By drawing upon a wide range of sources to shape my measure of what felt "real" I hope that that my choices might also feel "real" to a creative team adapting *The Needle* for stage, and to subsequent theatre audiences. In contrast, I did not pursue Authenticity to anywhere near the same extent in *OHTH*. Unlike Anna, I did not want the historical characters I constructed to feel "real" as if they had time travelled from the past. Instead I developed them so that they could analyse and comment on the past from a distance.

Integrity

Julia Clark applies the term "integrity" to her heritage interpretation practice to counter the heritage industry's focus on authenticity. Clark describes the pursuit of authenticity at historic houses as a process of "toxic myth-making."[41] While she does not apply precisely the same definition of authenticity as I have in my praxis her criticisms can be applied to my application of authenticity. Having a

[40] *The Needle*, 297.
[41] Clark, 34.

focus on what feels "real," with the intention that it should also feel "real" for a wider audience, can often require drawing on dominant or long-held understandings of the past. These deeply entrenched understandings about the past are rarely based upon archival evidence but can instead be framed as myths, adapted and repeated through various texts over time to the extent that they become confused with, and often overshadow, archival history. Clark asserts that interpretation at convict-era historic houses generally reflects "the powerful myth of a lost Golden Age, a time when all was gracious and stylish, when prosperity and order reigned".[42] In a Tasmanian context this myth supports dominant power structures of wealth, class, and Anglo-centrism. To pursue Integrity means to not just repeat these resilient narratives of privilege and power but to explore the intersection between public and private, domestic and institutional, masculine and feminine, which Clark warns can be "difficult, emotional and dangerous."[43]

Penal historian Jacqueline Wilson draws on Clark's use of "integrity" in her discussion of inmate narratives at Melbourne's decommissioned Pentridge Prison.[44] Wilson argues that inmate narratives must be considered when interpreting penal sites, despite the fact that they are rarely documented and often actively challenge the perspective of a prison's "gatekeepers" like the state, policing and judicial systems, and prison staff.[45] Wilson suggests that where self-representative prison narratives cannot be elicited, which for a variety of socio-cultural reasons is often the case, interpretation should move laterally and consider sources like graffiti or inmates' friends and families who visited them while incarcerated. In the case of Tasmania's convicts, as with Pentridge Prison, convict voices are largely lost within the barrage of documentation about them by others. This is particularly the case for female convicts who leave an even fainter self-representative trace in the archives. Some of the myths about convict experiences and the convict system reflect an understanding of convicts from the perspective of the convict system's various original gatekeepers. The risk of

[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., 35.
[44] Wilson, "Representing Pentridge," 126.
[45] Ibid., 123.

pursuing Authenticity is that in order for a choice to feel "real" for an audience whose understanding of the past might have been primarily shaped by these dominant or privileged perspectives, a creative interpretation will then perpetuate these myths and power structures.[46]

Applying Integrity in my praxis means being aware of the systems of power that variously shape the original creation of the archives, the analysis of the archives by historians, *and* the ongoing creative interpretation of that history. Gaps of experience or perspective in any of these are not random or void of meaning, but instead reflect power structures and methods of documentation that privilege particular experiences and perspectives. The Founders and Survivors researchers are themselves driven by a kind of Integrity in reading the archives "against the grain," working at that intersection of public and private and using new modes of analysis to find previously invisible traces of experience within the archive.[47]

As well as drawing upon classic Victorian literature when developing Anna's story in *The Needle*, I also adapted a range of Neo-Victorian literary texts in pursuit of Integrity. The Victorian authors that I had initially engaged with, including Charlotte Brontë and Charles Dickens, had particular attitudes towards sex, class and ethnicity shaped by their own cultural identity, place and time, and this meant that many aspects of experience were either beyond their ken or beyond their ability to publish. The popular contemporary Neo-Victorian novels that I drew upon, including Sarah Waters' *Fingersmith* (2002), John Fowles' *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969) and Michael Faber's *The Crimson Petal and the White* (2002), all pursue a kind of Integrity by finding ways to critique, subvert and "correct" expectations and conventions of Victorian-era fiction, giving insight into aspects of the past that writers from the period might not

[46] Rose Miron, "Sacrificing comfort for complexity: Presenting difficult narratives in public history," National Council on Public History, http://ncph.org/history-at-work/sacrificing-comfort-for-complexity/.
[47] Stoler, 99.

have been able to discuss.[48] Audiences whose primary understanding of nineteenth-century female behaviour comes from Charlotte Brontë might struggle to reconcile their understanding of the period with Anna's distinctly kinky experiences in *The Needle*, whereas fans of Sarah Waters might more readily read it as "real". Integrity can in this way sometimes be at odds with Authenticity, if it does not meet dominant audience expectations of the past. The propensity for it to subvert dominant expectations supports the fact that it does not alliterate with the rest of the Compass.

Tasmania's convict past is largely not viewed today as a kind of "Golden Age," instead Clarke's gothic adventure novel *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874) paints an image of the convict system as being "monstrous and cruel" with Van Diemen's Land cast as "a place of utter misery."[49] This perspective on the convict past is supported by the function of the archives in documenting convicts' lives *as* convicts, which often then focuses historians and creative interpreters alike on their identity as criminals. Henry Glassie also suggests that the bias of all history is "anguish", because the "happy, balanced person" does not spend their life writing up their crises for historians to later discover.[50] The risk of not acknowledging this kind of bias in shaping the kinds of "memorable moments" that are documented in the archive can lead to what Hilary Mantel characterises as treating the past "like a horror film".[51] For *The Needle* one of my other points of Integrity was to explore female convicts as workers, craftspeople, family members and lovers, rather than just criminals, and to limit my focus on the punishment narrative. I did this by predominantly setting Anna's narrative during her periods of domestic employment rather than focusing on her crime, sentence, transportation journey or time spent at the Female Factory or in

---

[48] Peter Widdowson, "'Writing back': contemporary re-visionary fiction," *Textual Practice* 20, no. 3 (2006): 495. Anne Heilmann and Mark Llewellyn, *Neo-Victorianism: The Victorians in the Twenty-First Century, 1999-2009* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Imelda Whelehan, "Neo-Victorian Adaptations," in *A Companion to Literature, Film and Adaptation*, ed. Deborah Cartmell (UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).
[49] Alexander, 172.
[50] Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel*, 288.
[51] Mantel, "Transcript for Lecture 2: The Iron Maiden."

probation on the *Anson*. Whilst trying not to understate the difficulties of the convict system and the absolute social and economic control that convicts were forced to submit to, I attempted to insert an oft-missing narrative of everyday moments of lightness and some of the slow pleasures and domesticity of ordinary life into parts of Anna's story.

The choice to pursue Integrity comes from an understanding that the way we communicate and creatively interpret history is an ethical issue. I also made choices towards Integrity in *The Needle* in regards to ethnic diversity in interpretations of Australian colonial history, and in both *The Needle* and *OHTH* regarding the inclusion of Indigenous narratives, which I will discuss at length in the next chapter.

Accuracy

Having developed most of Anna's narrative through Authenticity and Integrity I pursued Accuracy for very little of it. Much of Richard and Amelia's discussion of their research in the first act might, at a stretch, be argued to be historically defensible considering it has a relatively high sense of fidelity to the Founders and Survivors published research. However, the extent to which these findings have been decontextualized from their original sources, methods and limitations in *The Needle* renders their inclusion, to my mind, not historically defensible.

In contrast, *OHTH* was developed with an aim for as much of the content as possible to be historically defensible. The characters predominantly frame their discussion of the convict past in terms of analysing the archival evidence about the past, rather than the past itself. My focus on Accessibility and the wider scaffolding of the key concepts underpinning the Founders and Survivors research then supported my pursuit of Accuracy in later episodes by having already established the research as interpretative, the sources as partial and unreliable, and the methods as having limitations and being challengeable.

The historical characters in *OHTH* were, unlike *The Needle*, not constructed to be

recreations of actual lives. Instead of telling one individual's narrative, the characters of the Female Convict, Surgeon and Lieutenant-Governor are each representative of female convicts, Surgeon Superintendents and the colonial administration as groups, making them able to talk about history at a distance from it, like an historian, as well as embody the past. The Surgeon character does not represent an actual surgeon from a convict vessel, but rather he is an aggregative representation of the archival evidence relating to the work of surgeons onboard convict vessels. The Surgeon's bravado reflects the Founders and Survivors findings that more experienced surgeons had a layer of complacency about their jobs in only documenting the more serious illnesses that they treated.[52]

These characters can speak about history as well as embody it because they use both first-person and third-person narrative techniques in communicating history. Shifting between first and third-person is a common technique used in living history interpretations at heritage sites, when performers play characters from the past and engage in dialogue with visitors.[53] Even though the Female Convict character has been developed to encourage an emotional engagement with convict history, by highlighting some of the hardships of convict life through feeling these hardships herself, she still primarily talks about the convict experience through analysis of the sources.

My choice to position these characters as aggregative rather than particular, embodying the archival evidence in the present rather than an individual lived experience in the past, was chiefly driven by aims of Accuracy. This decision was also driven by Accounting, in that I could not afford the costumes or set design I would need to recreate these characters from the past with Authenticity. It was also done in pursuit of Accessibility in that it allowed me to discuss the significance or origins of particular attitudes and perspectives as part of the creative interpretation. It was also heavily driven by Artistry.

[52] Maxwell-Stewart and Kippen, 49.
[53] Robertshaw, 45. Magelssen, 292.

Artistry

Artistry is one of the most difficult Compass directions to encapsulate, because it drives my every choice in developing a creative interpretation. It relates to my individual, particular creative methods, and why I choose to creatively interpret history rather than practise history as an historian. The reasons why people make art and the methods they use are particular and unique to each individual, so here I can only describe my own.

In discussing how my approach to Artistry shaped *The Needle* I might describe my process of character development for Anna and my crafting of her backstory, my reasons for constructing a three-act structure, my use of descriptive imagery, my exploration of the characters' emotional terrain in finding ways their experiences might resonate with the audience, or my attempts to subvert audience expectations and assumptions about the convict past. I could speak to playwright Andrew Bovell's assertion that "[t]he work of the dramatist is to reach for an understanding of who we are now" or Rona Munro's suggestion that writing history plays is a process of writing about "how human" the people in the past were, and "what that teaches us."[54] Taking the discussion in this direction would allow me to discuss my choice to have characters in the present double as characters in Anna's narrative, with Michael taking on the role of Anna herself, and stipulating in stage directions that the past and present bleed together through costumes and staging.

I will instead refine this discussion of Artistry to my discussion of one select moment in *The Needle*. When Anna sits in the rose garden after her work is done and reflects on the way other characters have described this Van Demonian rose garden as feeling like "back home":

> "I imagined that other me, back home, on some street, some smoggy morning, cobblestones familiar as knuckles, feet slipping over them in the dark and the cold. Dodging holes and horse shit, jump the gutter, skip the

[54] Neill. Munro, Sansom, and Senter.

> puddles, rap the door knocker. Wait until I hear footsteps in the hallway then quick as I can, nearly dropping her, squeeze her to my chest and place her by the door. Not so close the door would knock her when it opens. Then I run. I run not looking back. Back through the dark.
>
> Later they let me out of my cell and back in my arms this tiny, skinny, cold, shaking, crying. She keeps crying. Can't sleep for the ache in her belly. That rattle of nothing. Pity the mother who knows exactly why her babe is crying.
>
> When I'm in the rose garden I'm not back home. I'm right here. This is my home."[55]

This moment occurs quite late in Anna's narrative, after her relationship with Joseph, her miscarriage and her growing connection with Nielson. The inclusion of this aspect of Anna's back-story provides a, perhaps surprising, new perspective on Anna as a character. It demonstrates the seeming hopelessness of her previous poverty and the stark differences between her life back in Ireland and this new life in Van Diemen's Land. It also means that if Anna had a baby back in Ireland then Joseph was not her first sexual partner. This does not reduce the romantic connection she experienced with Joseph, but it does shed further light on her reasons for wanting to marry and build a stable life together rather than absconding to live in further instability. It also foreshadows and supports her ambitions for an advantageous marriage that we see later in her narrative. I would hope that an audience would already be sympathetic to Anna as a character and her experiences so far, but this moment perhaps extends and deepens their sympathy. We have hitherto had no knowledge in the play of this daughter and she is clearly no longer physically with Anna. Leaving the ultimate fate of the baby unknown allows the audience to speculate as to what might have happened to her, and whatever the assumption, the grief and guilt that Anna must have been shouldering to this point would be immense. This moment also tells an audience that Anna has lived and known and felt deeply prior to her

[55] *The Needle*, 310.

transportation to Van Diemen's Land. Her life did not begin the moment she was transported as a convict, despite the fact that much of the convict archive makes it appear that way for individuals who are otherwise not documented in any other way.

Watching Anna attempt to abandon her baby to the care of another aims to humanise a moment that would be profoundly foreign for most contemporary audiences. It puts a human face to hunger, and the extremes of behaviour driven by desperate need. Most new parents would be familiar with the anxiety of comforting a crying baby whilst not being able to work out exactly what the baby wants – are they hungry? Cold? Tired? In contrast, Anna's bitter plea to "[p]ity the mother who knows exactly why her babe is crying" speaks to the cavern of difference in experience between her own situation and the situation of most of Australia's contemporary theatre-going public.

Embedded within this narrative are a number of historical concepts and contexts that I have explored through creative methods. It positions Anna's transportation within a wider historical context as being during the Great Famine and recreates an imagined emotional, embodied experience of the Famine, something beyond the methods of the historical study of this period. The narrative was based on a single sentence in the record of Charlotte Fulton, upon whom Anna was loosely based. Charlotte's record indicates that she stated she had one prior conviction before transportation, written as: "once for deserting my Child fined a farthing."[56] I could find no more details about this event, and no record of a child in her convict records, it was just a very faint trace of her back story and her life before transportation. Using my creative methods I could fill in the gaps around this story, imagining and recreating the conditions that might lead a mother to be charged with abandoning her own child, trying to understand it as a moment of embodied lived experience.

[56] "Charlotte Fulton Conduct Record CON41/1/16," (Hobart, Tasmania: Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office, 1848).

This narrative also showcases one of the complex, unquantifiable, unsolvable tensions at the heart of the Founders and Survivors project. There is no way to tally up the good and bad elements of convict transportation to decide whether it was ultimately good or bad. This is discussed in the final episode of *OHTH* when the characters describe the impossibility of summing up the legacy of the convict system – any potential health benefits must be weighed against the unquantifiable social, cultural and physical trauma of transportation. Not to mention the consequences of invasion.[57] Whilst the Founders and Survivors researchers might analyse the convict archive to unearth a whole host of new findings about the convict experience these will never result in an overall conclusion about convict transportation, something that the researchers themselves readily acknowledge – that is not what history is for. This scene adapts this concept by demonstrating Anna's own complex relationship with transportation, showing both what she has lost and what she has gained, which for her makes it easier to look forward in this new world, even though her thoughts still drift back to the old.

Negotiating tensions with the Compass

This discussion of the Compass is by no means exhaustive but demonstrates the way I applied it in my praxis. By being consciously aware of the different agendas in my creative interpretations the Compass helped me to negotiate a path between them. A move in one direction often necessitates a move away from another, so having a clear sense of magnetic North was vital in helping me to decide whether a move towards or away from a particular direction would be appropriate for that particular creative interpretation. Negotiating these tensions is a profoundly difficult process and I do not feel that I achieved a perfect balance for any of my creative interpretations. Historian Simon Schama argues how "unbelievably demanding" his own work interpreting history for television documentaries is compared with writing an "academic piece directed

[57] Although in that final episode I actually, problematically, do not mention this, an issue that will be discussed in the next chapter: *The Ethics of Creative Interpretation.*

at other academics" and states that writing for diverse non-academic audiences "takes the highest quality of your powers" in negotiating all of these different agendas.[58] My overall aim to make the Founders and Survivors research accessible in *OHTH* meant reducing archival accuracy in a number of respects and limiting some of my more ambitious artistic aims in relation to character development, humour and narrative. It also meant not pursuing Integrity to the degree I would have liked in regards to Indigenous narratives, which I will discuss in the next chapter. I found that setting a magnetic North for the Compass was a vital step in negotiating the various tensions in developing a creative interpretation, but it does not resolve them.

The Compass gave me confidence to move away from archival accuracy in my development of *The Needle*, by clearly demonstrating the other key agendas at play in my process of creative interpretation. Somewhat unexpectedly, by prioritising Artistry in Anna's narrative and moving away from fidelity to specific sources, I found myself almost circumnavigating and looking back towards Accuracy. The moment when Anna attempts to abandon her baby is not historically defensible on a micro scale and is an adaptation of only the thinnest shred of archival evidence. However, it does explore some important macro concepts in the practice of convict history around the legacy of transportation and the inability of the convict archive to reflect the lived experience of convicts. In this way *The Needle* reflects what Robert Rosenstone characterises as "metaphoric truths" about the past, that do not attempt to be "literal truths" related directly to analysis of specific sources but can provide valuable insight into our understanding of the past.[59]

One of the limitations of the Compass is that these six categories are not mutuality exclusive. The Compass does support travelling in an inter-cardinal space between two directions, but cannot accommodate the pursuit of more than two at once. This is problematic because to see these agendas wholly in opposition to one another means to ignore the way Artistry shapes my entire

[58] Beck, *Presenting History: Past & Present*, 105.
[59] Ibid., 191.

praxis. I creatively interpret history expressly because I believe that my creative methods, driven by my sense of artistic integrity, can be a powerful tool to communicate history. Research also demonstrates that a creative interpretation will provide a more effective engagement with history and be more accessible if it prioritises aesthetic and emotional engagement and avoids being didactic.[60] Clearly Artistry, Accessibility and even Accuracy can work in concert with one another.

Another researcher might have instead seen these categories not as cardinal directions on a compass but as different horses, working together in various configurations to pull a chariot, or the ubiquitous tools in a toolkit. However, the Compass was what I found worked best for me in my praxis and helped me to respond to my research questions. It supports my framing of my literature review as a sea journey between ports and reflects the geographical movement that defined a convict's transportation sentence. The Compass did also raise a number of ethical issues relating to my fourth research question in regards to the ethical pursuit of Integrity and the ethical implications of my approach to Accuracy.

[60] Hughes, "Theatre Performance in Museums: Art and Pedagogy," 41.

CHAPTER 8 The Ethics of Creative Interpretation

Ethics and the Compass

Jerome de Groot describes audiences of creative interpretations as undertaking a complex process of reading that acknowledges and negotiates the different and sometimes contradictory layers within a text.[1] Audiences will approach different types of creative interpretations with different ways of reading. The audience of a television documentary will, from the outset, most likely assume a different approach has been taken towards accuracy than the reader of an historical novel. Audience expectations are therefore, in part, shaped by the medium of a creative interpretation. Audience expectations are a complex, diverse and highly subjective measure. While it is not my intention to evaluate actual audience expectations and responses to my own creative interpretations in this research, I will explore how my assumptions about my intended audiences influenced my understanding of my ethical obligations.

Are your z-scores getting encores? was presented as a paper at a history conference where audiences might expect a high level of archival accuracy.[2] In response to this I did not package my exploration of Seth Marley's theft of the pies as being historically defensible and instead ended the story with this disclaimer:

> "I don't know what kind of pies they were, they could have been cherry, or apple, or the first recorded theft of a famous Tasmanian scallop pie. But there's something so visceral about a meat pie. Particularly one vomited in the dirt by a boy not used to having a full stomach. I don't know if Seth

[1] de Groot, *Consuming History*, 224.
[2] Digital Panopticon: Penal History in a Digital Age, Hobart, June 2016

was involved in the theft - none of the recorded evidence places him there that day."[3]

Of course audiences for conference papers do not uncritically assume that, unless otherwise stated, all of the information presented in a paper is accurate. The measure of what is accurate is, for an historian, open to interpretation. The assumption is not so much that the information is accurate but that the author of the paper believes it is an accurate interpretation. My disclaimer to the audience acknowledged that I was aware that my Marley story was not historically defensible and that I was not intending for it to perceived as so.

In contrast, the reader of a play script does not automatically assume that a playwright has interpreted the content of the archive with an historian's approach to accuracy. This means there is, from the outset, leeway for a playwright to make choices away from Accuracy without it being immediately problematic in an ethical sense. In developing *The Needle* I knew that, by virtue of it being written for theatre, a degree of infidelity to the archives would not only be tolerated but expected. The character and degree of movement away from archival accuracy is at the discretion of the individual playwright.

Although a playwright may have more freedom to fill in the gaps in the archive than an academic historian, the fact that this freedom depends upon a discretionary and implicit contract means that they are none the less influenced by ethical considerations. Practitioners in the field of verbatim or documentary theatre often apply a relatively disciplined and defined understanding of accuracy to their work, which audiences then likely expect in engaging with these kinds of plays. Whilst ethnodramatists work within rigorous academic integrity frameworks, verbatim and documentary theatre-makers work under no such systems.[4] There are ethical issues in developing a play to be received as a work of verbatim or documentary theatre when the play's content or process of

[3] *Are your z-scores getting encores?*, 329.
[4] Judith Ackroyd and John O'Toole, *Performing Research : tensions, triumphs and trade-offs of ethnodrama* (UK: Trentham Books, 2010), 34.

development does not actually reflect the expectations an audience or the wider practitioner community has for this field.

Similarly if a play is being developed in an educational context there might be an ethical obligation to not present content as having archival accuracy when it knowingly does not, although as with verbatim and documentary theatre there is no binding framework to actively govern this process. It would in fact be problematic to introduce a framework governing this in a creative interpretation context because often audience expectations are the very thing that a creative interpreter wishes to engage with and subvert. Betraying an implicit contract about accuracy between an audience and a playwright might be precisely the aim of a playwright, and is itself a valuable and valid artistic aim, perhaps even a valid historiographical aim.

Whilst it might be ethically fraught to actively mislead audiences about archival accuracy, there is no simple solution. I cannot control audience expectations for my creative interpretations and nor would I wish to. To suggest I could would undercut the phenomenological and intertextual underpinnings of my own praxis. However, I did find a number of techniques that might signpost to an audience the approach I have taken to Accuracy in each creative interpretation, which could have an influence on their expectations.

One technique borrows from the historian's toolkit by pointing to the actual sources and texts that have been drawn upon, which suggests to an audience that there is a traceable relationship between these and the creative interpretation. In the first episode of *OHTH* I establish a convention of reading from published history texts, and whilst I do not repeat this practice beyond this first episode it suggests that this is an implicit behind-the-scenes process undertaken by the character of Lydia throughout the series. The Further Reading screen at the end of each episode indicates that sources have been specifically engaged with during the episode, and directs audiences towards wider sources that might support the content that has been discussed. This both supports my pursuit of

Accuracy but also signposts to audiences that Accuracy has been deeply considered in developing the web-series.

As well as providing supplementary reference material a common technique used by historical fiction writers is to include a short note to the reader explaining the author's approach to historical material. Katherine Arden's historical-fantasy novel *The Girl in the Tower* (2017) includes an Author's Note at the beginning of her novel explaining that she has "striven for accuracy" but how this at times has been contradicted by the fairy-tale form that she weaves through her medieval Muscovy narrative, a form which is "strong on villains and princesses" but "does not always leave room for the infinite shades of grey necessary to do this location and time period justice."[5] Arden lists a number of historical texts suitable for readers who wish to "learn more about the realities of this time period". By establishing this at the beginning of her novel, rather than the end, Arden suggests some terms of engagement for the reader. She signals that what they are about to read is clearly *not* history, and if a reader wishes to read a work of history they should look elsewhere. Near the beginning of *Are your z-scores getting encores?* I provide a similar kind of "Author's Note" for my audience of historians, explaining that my practice, and thus my discussion of my practice, is not history. Like Arden I establish some terms of engagement, which are designed to influence the expectations audiences might have for Accuracy throughout the rest of the conference paper.

In *OHTH*, a similar kind of "Author's Note" can be seen in the opening scenes. By establishing that the character of Lydia is not a professional academic historian it suggests that the series is not a work of archival history. The inclusion of specific history texts in the first episode of *OHTH* does imply that history texts have been drawn upon and that Accuracy plays an important role. However, by having the character of Lydia read these history texts, as a non archival-historian, it suggests that the actual practice of history exists outside of the web-series. In this way *OHTH* establishes itself as a communicative portal to the practice of

[5] Katherin Arden, *The Girl in the Tower* (UK: Penguin Random House, 2017). Author's Note

history.

There are also less explicit ways of setting these kinds of expectations. In discussing the 1985 film *Walker*, Robert Rosenstone notes the way music and slow motion editing in the opening scenes are used to warn the audience "that the history [the film] delivers is not to be taken as reality" and that the "literal reconstruction of the past" is not what the film is attempting to achieve.[6] In the opening scenes of *The Needle* Amelia and Richard present their research to Michael in a style akin to a conference paper. Some of the expectations an audience might have regarding accuracy for a conference paper are therefore imported into the medium of theatre. The arrival of Anna - invisible, metaphysical and scientifically impossible – serves to remind the audience that they are in fact still watching a work of theatre, where different rules can apply. Beginning Anna's story with the arrival of a ghost signposts to the audience that inaccurate, impossible things do exist in the world of the play and that, like *Walker*, Anna's story should not be taken as a "literal reconstruction of the past".[7]

However, Anna's story is crafted with the aim of making audiences forget this caveat, encouraging them to suspend disbelief and immerse themselves in Anna's experiences, through authenticity, as if they were "real." It is only when the characters, and audience, are suddenly cast out of Anna's story and come back to the "present" that the audience is encouraged to think back and question the accuracy of all that they have seen – the historians' presentation included. In *The Needle* I actively encourage expectations for accuracy to be fluid and open to interpretation.

Rather than having an ethical imperative to pursue Accuracy I have understood my ethical obligation as being mindful of how I define accuracy and how I subsequently frame or potentially mislead an audience about my approach to accuracy within my creative interpretations. The Compass helped me to identify when I was making choices towards or away from Accuracy and at times

[6] Rosenstone, "Walker: The Dramatic Film as (Postmodern) History," 213.
[7] Ibid.

signpost these choices for the audience. I do not believe I am ethically obligated to provide these signposts, instead I see my obligation as being to understand the consequences of these choices, consider how they might be received by an audience, and shape my creative interpretation with this in mind.

Decontextualising digital data

Attempts by the Founders and Survivors project to read the archives against the grain have become increasingly complex thanks to developments in digitisation, computational techniques and database techniques. Historian Tim Hitchcock describes the shifts towards digital databases used by historians and archival and heritage institutions as a "revolution" in historical archives.[8] The analysis of digital databases is fast becoming the primary way that many historians interrogate evidence from the past. This digital revolution has also provided opportunities for creative interpreters, and much can now be achieved without ever visiting the physical archives. In my praxis I researched the convict archives online for two and half years before I finally engaged with the physical archives in person. However, the decontextualisation of historical data that accompanies this digital revolution is a growing ethical concern.

Historian Barry Godfrey suggests that rapid shifts in digital technology and the increased accessibility for non-specialist researchers are having an effect on the general perception of the reliability of historical data. Godfrey warns that the scale of data available about an individual, like a convict, through a digital database search "can give the illusion that we know more about their lives and motivations, than we actually do."[9] Removed from the ink and paper of the archive as artefact, removed even from the context of being part of a particular record set, a single digital record found through a database search for an individual can easily become entirely decontextualised. The record's role in the physical archive and thus its role in a system of documentation can quickly be

[8] Hitchcock, 6.
[9] Godfrey, *Crime in England: 1880 - 1945*, 95.

forgotten. Barry Godfrey describes this experience for an historian as losing their "peripheral vision."[10] I realised I had somewhat lost that sense of peripheral vision in my praxis when I first visited the physical convict archives and was able to engage with them as an interconnected, functioning physical system of documentation.

In researching Seth Marley for *Are your z-scores getting encores?* I had a wealth of archival content at hand – from his parents' convict records to the newspaper articles recounting his various brushes with the courts. However, the idea that the archives were not necessarily reflective of Marley's actual experiences but rather a particular way of documenting his experiences quickly became lost in a digital context. I took each reference to Marley out of the context it was originally published in – a police gazette, a court report, a newspaper advertisement – and stitched them together to create a time-line of his life. This time-line was a partial, fragmented and highly mediated version of his life's events that could easily be shaped to suit my own narrative purposes. Rather than considering the context of each record within its wider record set I blended them together as "sources about Seth Marley," as if that was a unique record set of its own. Thanks to my engagement with the wider literature I became aware of the fact that I was losing, or ignoring, vital context for these various records about Marley. Writing the pie theft narrative from Marley's own perspective was in part my acknowledgment that all of the documentation I had hitherto found on him was written and developed in a particular context through the perspective of and for the needs of others.

The risks of decontextualising records in digital databases are often exacerbated by users not having a sound understanding of the extra layers of interpretation within the database itself. I acknowledged this risk earlier when I discussed my simplification of the transcription and data linkage process in *OHTH*. What is often invisible to users of digital databases, which included myself at the beginning of this research, are the back entry workings or limitations of the database that necessitate that data be displayed or organised in a particular way,

[10] Ibid., 93.

shaping the way the user engages with it and makes meaning from it. Databases and back entry operations are at all times designed and maintained *by people*, individuals who have designed systems according to particular values or ways of seeing information that inevitably interprets the sources in some way.

This human influence means that a database can be "poorly designed, inaccurately catalogued" or include "inadequately curated source material".[11] It is crucial for each digital record to be captured in its entirety, complete with inconsistencies and irregularities, and not be "shoehorned to fit the constraints of modern technology" because this can "lead to misunderstandings and confusion by subsequent users of the data."[12] Even the most user-friendly and well-curated databases are shaped by the people who design them. This can be a particular issue with relational databases where the manner in which different tables are joined will facilitate the analysis of some research questions and not others. The juxtaposition of particular data sets, the ordering of data and the choice of categories to structure content all shape the way a user makes meaning out of that data.[13]

In order to counter this risk of decontextualisation in my own practice a valuable part of my research involved closely observing Founders and Survivors project meetings, as well as meetings of its sister database project, the Digital Panopticon. In this way I witnessed the researchers and database managers discussing the development and maintenance of their respective data sets and the manner in which these were cleaned, coded and linked. In addition to this I also assisted with transcription work for the Founders and Survivors project so as to understand first-hand the process of integrating an archival record into a database. This gave me an awareness of the nuances of the transcription process itself, the constant risk of human error, and the ways that data was organised to optimise the work of the researchers whilst maintaining that original archival context. As a result, I became mindful of the manufactured nature of exploring a

[11] Deswarte, 284.
[12] Ibid., 282.
[13] Godfrey, "Historical and Archival Research Methods," 162.

particular convict entry and researching a life-course stitched together from a range of record sets collected for diverse purposes and held in a variety of locations.

I was at times overwhelmed by the staggering amount of information hiding behind the deceptively simple search functions in the Founders and Survivors database. Developing a creative interpretation often necessitates the finding of narratives or characters within a dataset – both macro big picture stories of the wider shifts in history or micro individual stories. One of the great benefits of digital databases is the ease of filtering and searching, which is particularly significant for very large datasets or data spread across a range of physical locations that in the past would have taken considerable time and effort to sort through.[14] As well as being a boon for creative interpreters the benefits of this ease of searching are particularly felt by the growing numbers of family historians worldwide, who might previously have found traditional archives inaccessible but can now browse historical data online with ease and comfort.[15] This ease of searching, with key words, dates or particular variables, means that anyone, specialist or not, can often easily find exactly what they are looking for. To find Charlotte Fulton, the convict who I based Anna O'Reilly in *The Needle* on, all I had to do was search for specific criteria and I immediately found multiple individuals who I could choose between.

However, whilst this can be incredibly useful and time saving, there is also a risk that potential information might be missed. Any search is dependent on the consistency with which items have been described. Events relating to a particular person may not be picked up because of variants in the spelling of a name. Such issues may be selective, in the sense that some sub populations are more likely to have their details recorded incorrectly thanks to differences in accent or language from the clerks recording them.

[14] *Crime in England: 1880 - 1945*, 93.
[15] Deswarte, 283.

There is also a great danger in always finding exactly what you are looking for. Firstly, it blinkers a creative interpreter or researcher to other narratives, experiences or forms of documentation that they might have stumbled across in a physical searching process. Where previously a researcher might have sifted through reams of archival material until they found the information they were searching for, thus gaining a sense of the overall shape of the archive as they went, users of digital databases outsource that process to a search algorithm. As well as losing that sense of "peripheral vision" this can also lead to a kind of confirmation bias where findings represent a preconceived notion of what one might have been looking to find, despite potentially being misrepresentative of the wider data.[16] In a creative interpretation context this might mean presenting a narrative as if it were a majority experience when in fact it is reflected by the data only on a micro scale.

This is not a risk confined to users of digital databases and even without the ease of searching digital databases the creative interpreter is at risk of this notion of "confirmation bias." Any creative interpreter may choose to pull a narrative out of its archival context or ignore historical findings that might provide wider context for a particular event or experience. Kate Grenville's research for *The Secret River* took place before the widespread digitisation of archival material, but she still describes a magpie-like process of "wrenching" specific information "out of its place" so it could be applied to her narrative.[17] She highlights a clear relationship – the sources were in service to the story. This is the kind of approach that could easily result in a minority experience being presented as representative. However, Grenville notes that the original impetus for the narrative of *The Secret River* came from an engagement with the archive.[18] Rather than arriving armed with a story that she would mine the archive to tell, Grenville located it in the archive to begin with, then used her creative methods to develop her plot and characters. In light of this she describes her process as attempting to be "faithful to the shape of the historical record" rather than solely

[16] Godfrey, *Crime in England: 1880 - 1945*, 93.
[17] Grenville, 191.
[18] Ibid.

using it to find specific details for a story she had already decided to tell.[19] Grenville's acknowledgment of the latter as a problematic approach and her intention to achieve the former should not have been so quickly discounted by historians at the time who were critical of her process of creative interpretation.

I took a similar approach with all of my creative interpretations in developing an understanding of the archive before I began mining it for stories, characters and evidence. In developing *The Needle* I spent a long time engaging with the Founders and Survivors research and the Tasmanian convict archive before I decided how I would move away from archival accuracy to tell Anna's story. Despite the fact that Anna's story was not accurate in this sense, I still made sure I could position most of her experiences within the archive and, or, the Founders and Survivors research findings. Her experiences of work, marriage and freedom all reflect majority convict experiences. Her recidivism reflects the Founders and Survivors project finding that marriage did not render Irish women as unlikely to reoffend as other groups.[20] In Anna's case, as with all crime, the socio-cultural context driving her to attack and rob the historians should not be ignored. In this way, although *The Needle* might not appear to have a strict sense of fidelity to the Founders and Survivors publications, it has still adapted them as source texts.

Having a database at my disposal presented both risks and opportunities in providing me with the ability to easily locate specific information. On the one hand I could quickly find archival material to support the findings of the Founders and Survivors project – for example archival evidence of a married female Irish convict who reoffended. On the other it also meant that I could often easily find archival evidence to support my own wider assumptions about the convict system. To provide an illustration, convicts were often punished for misdemeanours by being flogged, and isolating "flog" or "lash" as a search term in the database brings up thousands of convicts' records demonstrating evidence

[19] Ibid.
[20] Maxwell-Stewart, ""And all my great hardships endured?" Irish convicts in Van Diemen's Land," 84.

of this form of punishment. In early drafts of *The Needle* Joseph was flogged after his and Anna's relationship was discovered:

> "Joseph came back from town three days later, red stripes across his shirt back, skin weeping. It soon crusted over."[21]

However, by positioning all of these thousands of flogging records within wider historical context it becomes clear that while flogging is a common image that many people, myself included, associate with convict punishment, by the late 1840s it had been all but phased out in the colony and replaced by hard labour or solitary confinement.[22] Although flogging would have likely been recognisable to an audience (Authenticity) my ethical concerns about the way I was using the database to search for and decontextualise specific evidence meant that I decided to change Joseph's punishment from flogging to a period of solitary confinement:

> "Joseph returned after a month. Eyes sharp, nails dirty, skin pale after three weeks behind stone."[23]

This also allowed me to include a rarely discussed aspect of convict punishment in pursuit of Integrity.

Selecting subjects and privileging voices

Just like any creative endeavour, history is "made" by historians. The selection of "moments" for deeper enquiry by an historian fundamentally shapes our understanding of history.[24] The historian's process of selection is highly informed by the systems of documentation established by people in the past. The

[21] *The Needle* draft January 2016
[22] Penelope Edmonds and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, ""The Whip Is a Very Contagious Kind of Thing": Flogging and humanitarian reform in penal Australia," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 17, no. 1 (2016).
[23] *The Needle*, 303.
[24] Clendinnen, 55.

abundance or dearth of archival documentation about different aspects of the past means that today we know far more about some subjects than we know about others. One of the consequences of this is that all historical writing runs the risk of over-emphasising the significance of those subjects who are prominent in the archive at the expense of others for whom less is known.

The wealth of data about Tasmania's convicts vastly overshadows information about Indigenous Australians. Barry Godfrey, Tim Hitchcock and Bob Shoemaker, leading researchers on the Digital Panopticon project, note the way the Tasmanian convict archives obscure "the contexts of imperial expansion and the massacres of indigenous Australians" because the records predominantly focus on "young, white, British and Irish male convicts" which subsequently focuses the historian's attention on these subjects.[25] Because historians' attention has been focused on these subjects so too has the public's over time. The authors argue that this has then supported the construction of a ""white" national identity in Australia" where "dead convicts have been marshalled to create a distorted and incomplete picture of past" that largely excludes Indigenous Australians and other minority groups.[26]

To maintain this "incomplete picture of the past" in my creative interpretations would mean to perpetuate this harmful process of exclusion. However, the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives in my creative interpretations requires great care and must be considered within the context of my own cultural authority. It is important to note that definitions of "Aboriginality," and thus representations of Aboriginality, are complex and varied, and this thesis will not attempt to define Aboriginality nor make any assumptions about how an Indigenous writer might approach the following points that I will explore for

[25] Barry Godfrey, Tim Hitchcock, and Robert Shoemaker, "The Ethics of Digital Data on Convict Lives," The Digital Panopticon, https://www.digitalpanopticon.org/The_Ethics_of_Digital_Data_on_Convict_Lives.
[26] Ibid.

myself in my praxis.[27] What is less complex to define is my own personal sense of Aboriginality – I am a non-Indigenous Australian, and this discussion applies specifically to how I have navigated that in this doctoral research.

There are no explicit references to Indigenous Australian perspectives in the three Founders and Survivors publications that I chose to adapt. The argument might be made that, for this research, I need not consider Indigenous perspectives because they are not included in the particular publications that I am adapting. However, this would be problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, despite not being explicitly mentioned in these publications, Indigenous experiences and perspectives can be found in the wider Founders and Survivors project. Aboriginal individuals are included in data from police gazettes, First World War records, and the convict records themselves that are all analysed by the Founders and Survivors researchers in different ways. The lack of explicit Indigenous perspectives within my three chosen Founders and Survivors publications does not demonstrate an absence of those perspectives in the Founders and Survivors project as a whole but rather is reflective of the researchers' necessary selection of particular subjects for closer inspection for those publications.

Secondly, it is problematic to assume that Indigenous perspectives should be solely found in projects and research questions that explicitly explore the experiences of Indigenous Australians in relation to British invasion or in analysing historical data that explicitly categorises an individual as an Indigenous Australian. Jane Harrison makes this point in relation to the discussion of "Aboriginal theatre" in the Australian secondary school curriculum, where particular themes like "grief", "identity" and "connection with the land" are defined as "Aboriginal themes."[28] This subsequently makes it difficult to

---

[27] Marcia Langton, *"Well, I heard it on the radio and I saw it on the television... " : an essay for the Australian Film Commission on the politics and aesthetics of filmmaking by and about Aboriginal people and things* (Sydney, Australia: Australian Film Commission, 1993), 28.
[28] Jane Harrison, "INDIG-CURIOUS: Who can play Aboriginal roles?," *Platform Papers* 30 (2012): 17.

categorise, and thus study, plays by Aboriginal writers that do not explicitly deal with these themes but instead "tell stories of lives led by individuals who identify as Aboriginal and have lived lives defined by their Aboriginality."[29] To limit my understanding of Indigenous perspectives to my assumptions about what might be, to draw upon Harrison, "Aboriginal themes" in history, would mean to ignore the rich and complex history of Indigenous Australia and the ubiquitous bedrock of invasion and land dispossession that underpins every single aspect of Australian history.

In the case of Tasmania's convict history, a research publication does not need to be explicitly investigating "Aboriginal themes" like Indigenous land use or culture, or any of the many violent consequences that came with invasion, for it to be conscious of Indigenous perspectives. Any analysis of subjects like the expansion of the colonial settlement into the Tasmanian interior, or the raising of a first generation of convict and free-settler children born in the colony enjoying the benefits of this new world's environmental conditions implicates Indigenous perspectives because these processes actively overwrite existing Indigenous land ownership, land use and cultural practices during that period. There is also an ever-present correlation between the progression and spread of the convict system and the rates of violence, disease, land dispossession and ostracism faced by Aboriginal Tasmanians.

Thirdly, it would be problematic to exclude Indigenous perspectives based upon their not being explicitly mentioned in the three publications I chose to adapt because to do so would perpetuate a silencing and erasure of Indigenous perspectives that has too long been the norm for creative interpretations of colonial Australian history. Gaps in the archive or a lack of explicit discussion about particular experiences or perspectives by historians do not occur at random but are instead rich with meaning in reflecting historical power structures and methods of documentation. If I depend upon explicit references to Indigenous individuals within historical data as grounds for including Indigenous perspectives this overlooks the highly subjective and mediated

[29] Ibid.

construction of the convict archives to begin with. The fact that there may be limited explicit mentions in the convict archives relating to Indigenous individuals or the experiences of Indigenous Tasmanians can itself be revealing. When reading the archives "against the grain" to find the colonial administration's wider workings regarding the convict system one should not also ignore the implications of those systems and attitudes for Indigenous Australians.

Finally, to limit the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives in my creative interpretations solely to whether they are explicitly mentioned in the three chosen publications would also run counter to some of the key concepts of my adaptation framework. These include the losses *as well as gains* of information when adapting between mediums and the layering of other texts and tropes apart from a source text to create a palimpsestuous adaptation. There are a great many perspectives and subjects included in my creative interpretations that are not found in the three Founders and Survivors publications. Fidelity to the source text is just one consideration for an adapter, and my development of the Compass demonstrates the many other options available apart from a strict sense of archival accuracy in relation to historians' specific findings. The Integrity arm of the Compass exists because creative interpreters – and historians – have an ethical imperative to acknowledge and perhaps find ways to fill gaps in the archive, like the invisibility of Indigenous perspectives, so as to not perpetuate the original power structures that created them.

Whilst one of the consequences of not including Indigenous perspectives is to perpetuate these harmful power structures it can also be part of the reason why a creative interpreter might choose not to include them. British television writer Jimmy McGovern was widely criticised in the Australian media for not including Indigenous perspectives in his television series *Banished* (2015), which explores the immediate period after the landing of the First Fleet and the experiences of the first group of convicts and soldiers to arrive in New South Wales.[30] McGovern

[30] Masters; Paul Daley, "Banished review - it's the blackfellas who are banished from BBC drama," *The Guardian*, 25 June 2015; Foxhall.

countered these criticisms by saying that he was mindful that an Indigenous perspective on invasion "needed to be told properly" and not just be "included in a tokenistic way" and he did not feel he could do this appropriately within the context of the first season of the series.[31] McGovern has a history of collaborating with Indigenous Australian writers on television projects and had, from the outset, planned to develop a second season of *Banished* that included Indigenous characters written by Indigenous writers, although the series was ultimately not renewed for a second season.[32] In the first season McGovern ultimately made the choice to not include Indigenous perspectives rather than risk including them in an inappropriate way. McGovern's choices demonstrate a complex interplay of Integrity being shaped by Artistry and Accounting.

The consequences of exploring Indigenous perspectives in an inappropriate way, which McGovern stated he was wary of doing within the limitations of his first season, might mean developing work that is offensive, appropriates aspects of Aboriginal culture, perpetuates harmful colonial stereotypes and ideologies, oversteps a creative interpreter's own cultural authority, misrepresents or misleads an audience or hurts members of the community. Whilst it is highly problematic to ignore Indigenous narratives, it can also be highly problematic to pursue them inappropriately.

Historian James Boyce advises that "the suffering and brutality associated with invasion and conquest" should remain "central themes" in any account of colonial Van Diemen's Land. I would argue that any creative interpreter exploring Australia's colonial past has an ethical obligation to make active, considered decisions about their discussion of or representation of Indigenous Australian perspectives.[33] These decisions are going to be different depending on whether that interpreter is an Indigenous or non-Indigenous Australian, the specific content of the work, the community they are making it in and the audience they are making it for. There is no binding set of rules. Yet again this

[31] Jimmy McGovern, "BBC's Banished: How I tried and failed to get Indigenous characters on TV," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 June 2015.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Boyce, 10.

discussion will only relate to how I have approached these ideas in my own praxis.

In weighing up these two approaches I decided that, in my praxis, it was integral to acknowledge and include Indigenous perspectives in order to not perpetuate the white mono-culture myth of colonial Australia and to acknowledge the act of invasion upon which colonial Australia was founded. However, as a non-Indigenous creative interpreter, the form that these perspectives would take required a deeply considered approach, taking into account my own non-Indigenous identity.

For most of Australia's history since invasion non-Indigenous Australian authors have been "privileged in their thematic and character representations of Aboriginality in texts" and "white critics and academics" have largely been responsible for mapping "the representational and theoretical terrain" that these texts have been shaped in.[34] This has changed dramatically in the last few decades, with increased numbers of Indigenous writers, theatre-makers, academics and cultural commentators in the public sphere.[35] The issue arises then with non-Indigenous writers continuing to represent Aboriginality, regardless of whether they do so with well-meaning intent. Rachel Maza, an Indigenous Australian actor and director, discusses this through the issue of misrepresentation:

> "We've had a history of being mis-represented, so now we have more power to address the balance. It is about understanding when there is an Indigenous story, and if there is not the Indigenous person to tell it, then don't do it."[36]

Anita Heiss also sees the problem as one of opportunity, in that many Indigenous

---

[34] Linda Miley, "White Writing Black: Issues of Authorship and Authenticity in Non-Indigenous Representations of Australian Aboriginal Fictional Characters" (Queensland University of Technology, 2006), 6.
[35] Ibid., 8.
[36] Harrison, 9.

writers "are tired of competing with white writers for the opportunity to write and be published in the area that is particularly and specifically related to their lives."[37] Hannah Donnelly echoes this in the need to make space for Indigenous writers.[38] However, what makes an "Indigenous story" is difficult territory to define in itself, similar to the complexities presented by defining "Aboriginal theatre." A story may be told from a non-Indigenous perspective that still intersects with Indigenous themes or characters. Marcia Langton argues that there can be value in the intersection of Indigenous and non-Indigenous experiences. [39] Non-Indigenous writers with personal experience with Indigenous communities might constructively write from their own perspective, so long as they follow established protocols and write with respect and sensitivity.

In following Langton there are a number of published protocols that a creative interpreter might consult in relation to working with Indigenous perspectives and experiences. I consulted the Australia Council *Protocols for producing Indigenous Australian performing arts* (2007).[40] These protocols were primarily developed for artists "using Indigenous cultural material and interacting with Indigenous performers and Indigenous communities." [41] In my creative interpretations I have not used Indigenous cultural material, or interacted with Indigenous performers or communities. However, this should not preclude me from still considering the protocols in my research. The difficulty with protocols like these is that they are not legally binding and only function if artists consent willingly to consult with and apply them, which gives the Aboriginal community no legal assurance that the protocols will be followed.[42] In considering the Australia Council's protocols I was guided overall by the *Performing Arts* (2007)

---

[37] Anita Heiss, "Writing about Indigenous Australia: Some Issues to Consider and Protocols to Follow: A Discussion Paper," *Southerly* 62, no. 2 (2002).
[38] Hannah Donnelly, "The Unnatural Way of Things," The Writers Bloc, https://thewritersbloc.net/unnatural-way-things.
[39] Langton, 35.
[40] Australia Council for the Arts, "Protocols for producing Indigenous Australian performing arts," (NSW: Australia Council for the Arts, 2007).
[41] Ibid., 10.
[42] Harrison, 27.

and *Writing* (2007) protocols, as well as the *Media Arts* (2007) protocols for *OHTH*. Despite not engaging directly with Indigenous performers, communities or cultural material, I have engaged with Indigenous perspectives in a number of ways in my practice, which I will now outline.

The guiding principle of "Respect" outlined in all of the Australia Council protocols means working with an "acknowledgement of country." This means acknowledging that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people "are the original inhabitants of Australia" and the contemporary custodians of the land.[43] I have tried to actively acknowledge the presence of Indigenous perspectives in Tasmanian convict history by acknowledging country through my use of language in both the creative interpretations and this thesis. I have used the term "invasion" over "settlement" or "discovery," which immediately places an Indigenous perspective into the colonial process, whereas "settlement" or "discovery" prioritise the white colonist perspective and can erase the presence of an Indigenous narrative. Being precise and particular about language is one of the first moves a non-Indigenous writer can make in an attempt to acknowledge Indigenous perspectives in writing, which also acknowledges the wider impact that language can have on society. Peter Kilroy argues that "[w]hile not directly causal, there is a link between the language you use, the recognition of Indigenous peoples today and the redistribution of wealth, property and power to those peoples."[44]

In the first episode of *OHTH* I highlight the problematic nature of the term "discovery," use the term invasion, and emphasise the length and depth of Aboriginal culture prior to the advent of the Tasmanian convict system and the Founders and Survivors data. In considering calls to actively make space for Indigenous writers, I end the episode by reading from Bruce Pascoe's *Dark Emu* (2014).[45] In this way I am both incorporating Indigenous perspectives but also acknowledging the authority of others in discussing those perspectives, which

[43] Australia Council for the Arts, 10.
[44] Peter Kilroy, "Discovery, settlement or invasion? The power of language in Australia's historical narrative," *The Conversation*, April 1 2016.
[45] Bruce Pascoe, *Dark Emu* (Broome, Western Australia: Magabala Books, 2014).

aligns with the recommendation in the Australia Council protocols that the "cultural contribution of Indigenous people to writing" should be "valued" and "acknowledged.[46] The intention for this is to encourage audiences themselves to engage with Indigenous authors like Pascoe.

Whilst I established this concept in the first episode of *OHTH*, I believe I failed to re-engage with these concepts throughout the rest of the series, framing my discussion nearly exclusively around convicts and free settlers, with a focus on Irish, English and Scottish convicts. This is particularly problematic when I discuss the forced removal of convicts' children in *Episode 6: Marriage*, but do not position this alongside the forced removal and massacre of the children of Indigenous Australians during this period and the long history of forced removal of Aboriginal children from their families long into the twentieth century.[47] By exploring an emotional engagement with history through the Female Convict character and framing her as a kind of "victim," I also render invisible the contributions colonial-era women made to the process of invasion.[48] There are similar issues when I discuss the height of children in the colony in *Episode 7: Height* and do not acknowledge that the health benefits convicts reaped through invasion resulted in the inverse for Indigenous Australians.

These represent significant limitations in my attempts to integrate Indigenous perspectives and my pursuit of Integrity in *OHTH*. I became increasingly aware of these limitations during the editing process. In response I included historical texts that explore Indigenous perspectives in detail in the "Further Reading" lists that accompany each episode, to indicate that *OHTH* represents just one perspective and to direct viewers towards these other narratives. If I were to film the episodes again I would make sure to acknowledge these points throughout the later episodes and not fall into the dangerous habit of generalising about experiences that were by no means universal.

---

[46] Australia Council for the Arts, "Protocols for producing Indigenous Australian writing," (NSW: Australia Council for the Arts, 2007), 34.
[47] Moses.
[48] Reid, 7.

The final way that I engaged with Indigenous perspectives is through writing an Indigenous character in *The Needle*. I have done this following Langton's suggestion that Indigenous and non-Indigenous experiences can intersect in the work of non-Indigenous creative interpretations so long as it is done following protocols and with respect and sensitivity, which I have endeavoured to do up to this point in the writing stage. I have been guided by my own experiences working alongside members of the Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri communities in South Australia, having worked for a number of years at Nunkuwarrin Yunti of SA, the state's largest Indigenous community-controlled health service. While there I worked with Link-Up, a program that provides "family-tracing, reunion and counselling services" for individuals affected by the Australian government's policies of family separation that particularly targeted Aboriginal children.[49] The generations of individuals affected by these policies are now known in Australia as the Stolen Generation.

At the beginning of *The Needle*, before the reader reads the play itself, there is a character list where each character is positioned alongside a number of their ancestors. I have directed that this should then inform casting. The character of Cynthia has Aboriginal heritage, indicated by her mother's upbringing at Croker Island Mission, an institution in the Northern Territory where children of Aboriginal descent were sent after being forcibly removed from their families.[50] Whilst I have not explicitly engaged with Indigenous cultural material in developing Cynthia's character I have written the role cognisant that it should be played by a performer who themselves identifies as having Aboriginal heritage. In drawing upon my own individual experiences, Cynthia is born in South Australia and many of her ancestors come from Ngarrindjeri country. I do not feel I have had sufficient engagement with Tasmanian Aboriginal communities in order to develop a character with explicitly Tasmanian Aboriginal heritage and believe to do so would overstep my cultural authority. At the end of the play it is revealed that Cynthia's mother was a member of the Stolen Generation, and that,

[49] Nunkuwarrin Yunti of SA, "Link-Up," http://nunku.org.au/our-services/social-emotional/link-up/.
[50] Find & Connect, "Croker Island Mission (1940-1968)," https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/nt/YE00021.

as a family, they have been unable to trace her birth family thanks to gaps in the documentation that might enable them to do so. My intention with this is to highlight the paucity in documentation for a great many aspects of Australia's past and the disproportionate level of attention and significance that Tasmania's convicts have received as a result of their exceptional documentation.

I have, in a similar way, been mindful of the character of Michael's Chinese-Australian ancestry and written his character with an awareness of this. The practice of "colour-blind casting" means that any actor, regardless of their ancestry, can play any role. This practice is incredibly valuable in a theatre context in relation to casting plays from the existing canon. However, Leslie Martinson highlights the way that colour-blind casting can also be seen as "reductive," in implying that a performer's "cultural context can be set aside" when it is usually highly significant to the performer themselves.[51] Rather than developing new plays for colour-blind casting, Martinson argues that it is important "to have the conversation about what role ethnicity plays in a particular production" and be "rigorous in examining our assumptions."[52] I believe that ethnicity should play an active and significant role in every representation of Australia's history. There is often a problematic assumption of Anglo-centrism in discussions of convict history and convict descendants today. By creating characters with diverse ethnic backgrounds *The Needle* strives to demonstrate that convict history and its legacy belongs to and impacts the wider Australian community.

I have included clear stage directions in *The Needle* about the moment that the characters enter and embody the past world of Anna's narrative. Here Michael takes on the role of Anna, becoming the protagonist in this colonial-era narrative. If there is a wealth of documentation relating to "young, white, British and Irish male convicts" it means they claim much of the historians' attention and thus much of the attention of creative interpreters drawing on that history.[53] This

[51] Leslie Martinson in Goldstein, 92.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Godfrey, Hitchcock, and Shoemaker.

then has significant implications for contemporary Australian performers cast in creative interpretations of convict history, but also in perpetuating a lack of diversity on Australian stages. Freddie Rokem notes the way that the play within a play device often used in plays based on history can serve as "a filter through which the "truth" about the past can be examined and critiqued."[54] By casting Michael as Anna I subvert the dominant whiteness of interpretations of convict history and give Michael, as Anna's direct descendent, a stake in her narrative.

Unlike *OHTH*, which was an exercise in the multidisciplinary process of creative interpretation with me taking on all of the roles of writer, performer, director, camera operator and editor to develop a finished output, *The Needle* has been developed for a much bigger team. Tom Stoppard notes that theatre depends upon being "mediated by a gang of people" and that the playwright, whilst having a role in that, is not the sole author of a theatre production.[55] *The Needle*, as an adaptation of the Founders and Survivors project, has been written to be a source text in a chain of adaptation beyond this research. First it will be adapted through a workshopping stage with a creative team to create another version of the script. It will then be adapted as a theatre production by a creative team. I acknowledge that my ability to write the characters of Cynthia and Michael is in part limited by my own cultural identity, and for me to pursue Integrity and engage in what I understand are my ethical obligations as a creative interpreter, I need to collaborate with other people with a difference set of experiences to mine and a different understanding of their own cultural authority. In collaborating with a creative team in workshopping *The Needle*, reflecting upon this process of collaboration and making appropriate changes to a new version of the script, I would be undertaking a process of "Communication" and "Consultation" as suggested by the Australia Council protocols. This would allow me to develop all of the characters further in ways that might, to quote playwright Vinay Patel, let each of their cultural backgrounds more "inflect the

[54] Rokem, 203.
[55] Stoppard. xiii

story and their world."[56] To develop *The Needle* according to what I have established are my ethical obligations, I must necessarily extend my praxis beyond my own personal methods as creative interpreter and collaborate with others for the next stage of adaptation.

Consent and crime data

Irish-born Anna O'Reilly, the central character in *The Needle*, is based on a particular convict who I found in the Founders and Survivors database thanks to a very specific search process: I wanted to find the one convict in the database who most matched my own physical description. This convict was Charlotte Fulton.[57] If my previous discussion about cultural identity and the assumed Anglo-centrism of Australian colonial history required a coda, this is it. There is an implicit pairing of privilege and exclusion in the fact that I *could* search an historical database and find detailed documentation about a person from the past who potentially looked similar to me, because this would definitely not be the case for a great many Australians today.

I have previously established that finding exactly what you are looking for in a digital database can be a double-edge sword. Unlike working with Indigenous cultural material there are no established frameworks for consent when it comes to adapting convict data for performance. Having located Charlotte in the database, I could do whatever I wished with that information, and so I swiftly transported her into my play and set her to work.

The situation is the same for historians researching the convict archives. Whilst there are particular legal agreements relating to the use of archival images there is no framework of consent relating to the information found in those digitised

[56] Vinay Patel, "Why Master of None Isn't Just Good Telly - It's Everything I Always Hoped For," shut up and deal, https://vinayskpatel.wordpress.com/2015/11/08/why-master-of-none-isnt-just-good-telly-its-everything-i-always-hoped-for/.
[57] "Charlotte Fulton Conduct Record CON41/1/16."

images. Barry Godfrey suggests that historians working with data sourced from digital databases consider an approach towards consent similar to the one taken by those who work with oral history sources.[58] Oral historians work with a disciplined understanding of consent in interviewing their subjects. Secondary analysis of oral history sources is, today, done by researchers mindful of the fact that they do not have the same consenting relationship with the subject that the original interviewer had at the time. Because of this, oral historians recommend that the "spirit" of the original intent of the interview should be considered, not just its place within a contemporary legal framework, which may no longer offer any legal protection to subjects.[59] Despite the passing of time if the spirit is preserved as well as the "the letter of the law" then the "original protection" that supported the creation of the archive can remain in place.[60] The spirit of the archive might refer to the original purpose of the archive, and in an oral history context it also refers directly to the context of consent that was given at the time of the interview.

The difficulty with working with penal data is that it is often taken without the consent of subjects. If consent *is* granted it is for the collection of the data but not for the dissemination or future interpretation of the data by historians – let alone by creative interpreters. Much of the convict archive is based upon interview-like exchanges between colonial administrators and convicts. Contemporary ideas of consent were not part of this original interview structure at all. The challenge here then is not that the colonial administrators did not obtain consent but that consent was not even considered an issue at that time in the same way that it is now. In the absence of notions of consent it is important to then have a clear understanding of the purpose of the archive, in this case as a highly mediated and subjective account that is wholly unreliable as a true or complete record of lived experience.

[58] Godfrey, *Crime in England: 1880 - 1945*, 66.
[59] Ibid., 75.
[60] Ibid.

The ethical issue of consent in relation to the Tasmanian convict archives is one that I have not developed a clear solution to in my praxis. Neither has the practice of archival history. The method of control that the public primarily associates with the convict system is the physical control that the state had over convicts, accompanied by images of cells, chains and corporal punishment. However, physical confinement characterised the convict experience for only a minority. The majority of convicts worked their sentence as private labour to masters or on government projects and their experiences would not have resembled those of prisoners as we understand them today. Nonetheless they were not free, they were socially, economically and geographically imprisoned by the documentation and rules of the convict system. The notion that convicts still do not have ownership or autonomy over their lives today is not lost on me. They are still imprisoned by the paperwork, and this time historians, archivists, genealogists and creative interpreters hold the keys.

I explore the perpetuation of these gatekeepers in *The Needle* with the historians' interrogations of Anna mirroring the original process that Anna would have been subjected to by the colonial administration. This interrogation process is undertaken again near the end of Anna's story when she reaches the moment that she was first summoned as a ghost by the historians. During this final round of interrogation she rebels, holding her needle to Amelia's eye and robbing the trio. In this moment we see Anna violently (although invisibly) wresting back ownership of her story and deciding not to consent to that interrogation – not to consent to the historians' process of data collection. Although Anna's story is still under my control as creative interpreter I have attempted to give her agency and in this moment in the play she does not consent.

In further exploring this notion of consent and ownership I drew upon a range of wider fields. Verbatim and documentary theatre-makers and ethnodramatists also work with a mindfulness of the "spirit" of the archival or ethnographic material that they are interpreting.[61] In considering the "spirit" of their research ethnodramatists work under a Hippocratic founding tenet of "First, do no

[61] Ackroyd and O'Toole, 24.

harm."[62] In exploring the relationship between my creative interpretations and history I found that an ethnodrama approach proved too restrictive to apply to my praxis. If I were to "first, do no harm," I could not decide who my obligation was to. It should not actually be the convicts themselves, because in not framing history as "the past," the convicts themselves are not, strictly speaking, the primary focus of the Founders and Survivors project – the convict archives are. To consider a duty of care towards the convicts undermines the fundamental unreliability of the archives to be a comprehensive record of convicts' lived experiences.

Should I have a primary responsibility to not harm the Founders and Survivors project's academic integrity? Ultimately I decided no, because this undercuts the practice of history and the overarching spirit of academic research. Whilst there are ways of engaging in robust academic discussion without being actively harmful, a researcher should have the freedom to analyse with rigour a peer's research and develop evidence-based findings that might challenge or reinterpret aspects of that research. I have undertaken this research embedded within the Founders and Survivors project and so I obviously have a vested interest in the project's perceived academic integrity, but not at the cost of my own.

I have already discussed my consideration of audiences in terms of being conscious of how I package accuracy. I was also guided by an aim to "do no harm" in relation to exploring Indigenous perspectives. There is also another living group of people implicated in my research – the descendants of convicts. This group are only associated with my research through their potential reception of my creative interpretations – they do not feature in any way in the convict data. However, the option was available to me to anonymise the convicts I discussed in my research so as to not draw any potentially harmful connection to their contemporary descendants.

[62] Ibid., 34.

There are powerful ethical arguments for anonymity of individuals in historical data. Contemporary online databases are making publicly available biographical and biometric data at a scale and level of intimacy previously unprecedented.[63] This is prescient for both the non-specialist researcher casually browsing the archives, but also the professional historian who publishes findings based on this data. Barry Godfrey notes that the increasing speed of data linkage today "means that a huge amount of "sensitive" material on individuals can be accumulated very quickly" which can prove problematic when this material is then republished publicly by historians.[64] Even one hundred years is not so short a time for a sensitive family secret or piece of personal information to have devastating effects should it be published or made available to a particular audience. This is exacerbated by the fact that the historian or creative interpreter will often err towards the more inflammatory or eyebrow-raising stories to make a particular point or demonstrate an experience in an engaging way. Despite being buried deep in the archive these stories are relatively quick to unearth in a digital database. In light of this there is an argument for anonymity in creatively interpreting characters and narratives based on digital data. The specific name of an individual makes the information traceable in the archive, but often does not fundamentally affect the meaning gleaned from the information. In this case there might not be a huge amount lost by changing a name, but perhaps much to gain in respecting descendants' rights to privacy and the potential sensitivity of information.

However, the argument against anonymity is also effective. Much of the data encompassed in these sorts of large online datasets relates to individuals not used to having their names singled out in history books – people whose data has been collected expressly because they are identified as convicts or workers. Much of the world's history has focussed on prominent, wealthy, male individuals, which is obviously unrepresentative of much of the world's

[63] Barry Godfrey, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Crime and Criminal Justice*, ed. Anja Johansen (UK: Oxford University Press, 2016), 46.
[64] Ibid., 51.

population.[65] Naming actual names plays an important role in redressing this imbalance. By using real convict names it places a value on the experience of those individuals by naming them in the same way that a value has been placed on the experiences of those privileged by history. Of course it is important to acknowledge that the data collected about these individuals is not self-representative and does not constitute some "truth" or recreation of their past experiences, but must be viewed within the highly selective and subjective framework it was collected in.[66]

One of the founding aims of the Founders and Survivors project is to question those long held myths about the Tasmanian convict experience that have shaped the public understanding of Australia's colonial legacy. As can be demonstrated by the shifting attitudes towards slavery over time, legacies should not be preserved by default, but should be revised in the event of new information and new attitudes. The ownership of legacies, and who can decide how they are best preserved, does not fall strictly along lines of blood descent but should be actively and regularly evaluated. This is supported by historian Tom Griffiths' assertion that history should be at all times contestable and public.[67] There are of course exceptions to this, like the best practice recommendation which I discussed earlier that Indigenous cultural material and narratives be explored in consultation with the Indigenous community.

In *OHTH* I wanted the character of Lydia to have a convict ancestor sent to Van Diemen's Land so that I could situate this convict's experiences within the Founders and Survivors data. My own convict ancestors were sent to the colony of New South Wales, not Van Diemen's Land, so I could not choose one of them. To choose a convict at random from the archive would ignore the clear differences in experience and background of convicts who went on to start families that were formally documented compared to those who did not. I might have borrowed a Van Demonian convict ancestor from someone else, which

[65] Becker, 28.
[66] Godfrey, *Crime in England: 1880 - 1945*, 84.
[67] Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel*, 264.

would ensure that the convict would have had direct descendants, but I decided that this would open me up to discussions of ownership over a narrative or set of experiences. Whilst I do not believe convict descendants have ownership over the representation of their ancestors, although here again there are exceptions in relation to Indigenous cultural material, I am also not keen to ruffle feathers unnecessarily. The convict archives are open access, you cannot legally slander the dead, the UNESCO Memory of the World listing reflects the archives' significance to world heritage, not just individual family heritage, but I am not in a hurry to have to make these arguments to a potentially irate family historian if I do not have to.

Instead I chose to fictionalise a convict ancestor, a decision supported by the fact that the character of Lydia having a Van Demonian convict ancestor was already a fictional device. I developed a fictionalised convict, an amalgam of various aspects of the archive, who would best help me explore the application of the Founders and Survivors research for a family historian within the narrative I had developed for the series, allowing me to explain how "Joseph" did or did not fit within the wider trends found in the data. It also wove an intertextual thread between Joseph the cabinetmaker and family man in *OHTH* and Joseph the promiscuous absconding fisherman in *The Needle*.

In *The Needle*, for similar reasons to *OHTH*, none of the characters names are supposed to tie them to actual documented individuals, they have all been fictionalised. Whilst not basing Anna's character or narrative on a documented convict narrative, I did base her description on Charlotte Fulton, my potential convict doppelgänger. This allowed me to explore the tendency – and inevitability – for creative interpreters to shape their representations of history through their own interests, values and socio-temporal positioning. By repurposing Stuart Hall's notion that heritage can be a "powerful mirror," I found my own version of a mirror-image in the convict archive.[68] Hilary Mantel notes that however good a writer's "bag of tricks" is "[they] are always in there

[68] Hall in Hems and Blockley, 4.

somewhere".[69] To acknowledge this inescapable and deeply ingrained aspect of my own process I actively positioned myself right on the surface in Anna's documented physical appearance, reminding me that wherever she trod so too did I.

Fidelity and numbers

I have established that my approach to archival accuracy is akin to an understanding of close fidelity to archival or historical source texts, with fidelity existing along a non-hierarchical spectrum. In all of my creative interpretations I made choices away from Accuracy along this spectrum of fidelity and I can justify this both through framing my practice as adaptation and in highlighting the legitimacy of these other directions with the Compass. However, despite having established these concepts for myself I found that I was not applying them consistently when it came to the adaptation of numbers – as compared to words.

Numerical representations of data play a greater role in quantitative history than in traditional qualitative history. All three of the Founders and Survivors publications I adapted rely heavily upon numbers integrated within discursive text as well as in graphs and tables. My instinct was to maintain a strict sense of fidelity in all of my creative interpretations to numbers that feature in the source texts, despite the fact that this contradicts my overall argument about fidelity. This begs the question: should numbers be treated any differently to words?

There is a powerful argument that says fidelity to numbers matters in an ethical sense, because often, when it comes to history, numbers are not just numbers, they are people. The Australian History Wars debate began with the different ways in which historians have estimated Aboriginal deaths on the colonial frontier. While such counting processes are complicated by the manner in which different episodes are recorded in the archive, there are rules and conventions

[69] Tim Adams, "Hilary Mantel interview: 'My problem is never ideas. My problem is time.'," *The Observer*, April 27 2014.

that underpin approaches to such research. David Irving, for example, was taken to court over his interpretation of Holocaust deaths because it was argued that he had selectively drawn on the archival record.[70] Whilst penal data may not carry the same ethical weight as genocide data, it does not mean that ethical consequences should not be considered. Numerically-based findings about Australia's convict past have the power to impact on Australian national identity, education curriculums, heritage interpretation and reconciliation and republican movements. A lack of fidelity to numbers could have profound consequences and should therefore be considered in an ethical context.

Yet, privileging numbers in this way (or at least treating them in a different way to other archival evidence) also plays into the misconception that quantitative findings are certain and therefore different to qualitative. In reality, both are subjective, relativist and interpretative, rather than stone cold facts. This primacy of numbers over words can be traced back to the convict era itself. The nineteenth century is known as the first Golden Age of Data and it is during this period that we witness a growing use of statistics and numbers as rhetorical tools.[71] It is not a coincidence that the complex and comprehensive convict archives were developed during this period – quantifying convicts is not just something that twenty-first-century researchers are interested in. It was important to acknowledge that this perception of numbers, as being somehow more accurate or reliable than words, might shape an audience's reception of my creative interpretations.[72]

I experimented with a sliding scale of fidelity to the numbers that feature in my creative interpretations, which ranged from including all of the numerical data verbatim to making up an entirely new set of numerical data. However, when the numbers change, the findings change. I decided that changing numbers, for example rounding out a z-score or bumping up a sample size, would actively misrepresent research findings, whereas omitting numbers allowed me to still

[70] Tosh and Lang, xiv.
[71] Ibid., 70.
[72] Hutcheon, 8.

maintain the spirit of the research findings. In *OHTH* I include numbers written onscreen to support my discussion of the research findings but rarely refer to explicit numbers in my dialogue. In pursuing Accessibility the specific numbers themselves are often less important than my explanation of their significance. All of the numbers I include are taken verbatim from Founders and Survivors publications – I have not altered or made-up any numbers. In *The Needle* I also did not fabricate any of the numerical data discussed by Richard and Amelia in relation to specific Founders and Survivors research.

However, I felt uncomfortable with my decision to have a literal sense of fidelity to numbers when I did not apply the same measure to words. This kind of decision could not be supported by my adaptation framework, and actually ran counter to the importance of acknowledging the uncertainty and limitations of any quantitative historian's findings. In light of this, I decided to fabricate Richard's data on family history income figures in *The Needle*:

> RICHARD: Because it is worth billions…. When a tourist feels personally connected to a place their likelihood to hire a car, stay in a hotel and eat in a restaurant increase by 850 per cent.[73]

Later in the scene Michael suggests that his own research into family history income is different to Richard's, supporting the idea that Richard is shaping his figures for a specific purpose in convincing Michael to invest in his research.

> MICHAEL: Can you go back to your page about tourism income? The figures? I'd like to know where you got them. My own forecasting has the industry at about 300 million in decline.[74]

In today's "post-truth" world, rife with "fake news" and "alternative facts," I believe that making up numbers is an ethical issue. However, so too is blindly believing numbers wholesale without interrogating their limitations or their

[73] *The Needle*, 282.
[74] *The Needle*, 285.

wider purposes, and so I have attempted to demonstrate this need to question numbers. The term "fabrication" can be used in the context of lying, but it can also be applied to the idea of making and constructing. In the case of Richard and Michael's discussion of family history income figures, my fabricated numbers help to build a platform to suggest the limitations and uncertainty of numbers.

Ethics and history

Although this research is inherently interdisciplinary there is an undeniable layer of disciplinary located-ness in my praxis. I undertook this research whilst being primarily located in the university's Department of History. This sense of location was initially administrative, as a PhD candidate "in History" with an historian for a primary supervisor. It was also physical, in that my office was within the history department at the University's Hobart campus (whilst the University's performance and creative arts department, and my secondary supervisor within it, was some 200km away). This sense of located-ness soon became epistemological, and my research questions began to focus specifically on the relationship my praxis had to the concept of history as practised by historians. Engaging in my praxis through a lens of history, rather than say, performance studies or theatre, then had a huge effect on the way I analysed my methods and developed my creative interpretations and, ultimately framed my research questions in this thesis.

This located-ness also guided my understanding of my ethical obligations. The ethical issues considered by the Founders and Survivors project include understanding the inherent unreliability of the archives, being aware of the risks of decontextualizing digital data, recognizing the ethical implications of selecting particular subjects for further enquiry, reflecting on notions of "consent" when interpreting crime data, and acknowledging the limitations of quantitative findings. In creatively interpreting the Founders and Survivors project I became aware of all of these as ethical issues in my own praxis.

Chapter 3 Convicts, The Past and Archival Historians outlined some of the founding concepts underpinning an historian's approach to archival evidence and how it can be used to shed light on the past. Thanks to my engagement with the practice of history I decided that I, like an historian, had an ethical obligation to understand how and why the convict archives were constructed and how this shapes the information they contain. In my praxis I have endeavored to not treat archival information as a record of lived experience, or uncritically consume information without considering the purpose it served in the original use of the archive and the perspective it has been written from.

The ethical issue at play here is one of misrepresentation: there is a risk that the way a convict is documented in the convict archives might be misunderstood as the equivalent of who that convict was in reality. It is this misrepresentation of archival evidence and the supposed reliability of the archives as a record of lived experience that has led to many of the widely held myths about convict history. Convict misdemeanors take up disproportional space in the documentation of their experiences under sentence, supporting the punishment narrative, and much of a convict's early documentation frames the crime they were transported for as a key part of their identity. Although I adapt the archive using different methods to an historian, I shared this same understanding of its impartial and fragmentary nature in my praxis. This ethical obligation then shaped my approach to accuracy, in framing it specifically as "archival accuracy" and considering historical defensibility from the perspective of an historian. This resulted in my applying a much stricter definition of accuracy in this research compared to in my past practice.

In the same way I was also conscious of the ethical issue of misrepresenting historians' findings. In *OHTH* I did find it a challenge to discuss Founders and Survivors research findings in a way that would make them both accessible and engaging for wider audiences without making them appear as "facts." The educational aims of the series meant it was important to indicate the latent unreliability of the research itself as being *an* interpretation, not *the* interpretation. However, the audience for *OHTH* would not necessarily share an

implicit understanding of history as interpretative and challengeable in the same way as the readership of an academic history publication. In light of this, I adopted a number of techniques to indicate the interpretative nature of the Founders and Survivors research findings. These included developing those first three scaffolding episodes, explicitly discussing the limitations of some of the research, at times using quite cautious language to discuss findings to suggest they were dependent on specific context and open to scrutiny, and indicating just how much about the convict experience was unquantifiable.

However, it is not for no reason that creative interpretations are often criticized for lacking in historical rigor and simplifying complex findings. The specificity of the medium a creative interpreter is working in can necessarily require a shift away from Accuracy, even if the creative interpretation is intended to be highly informative. The durational constraint of five minutes that I set for each episode of *OHTH* meant I did not have the time to remind audiences of the limitations for each and every aspect of the research in each episode. In order to maintain the pace, tone and narrative I desired for the episodes it would also not have been appropriate to always use such guarded statistically accurate language. At times I over-emphasised the certainty of some findings so that they could function as a setup to a later point for which I might then take more time and be more guarded in my discussion.

My ethical consideration to not overstate the reliability of either the archive or the Founders and Survivors findings is essentially a pursuit of Accuracy. This necessarily came into conflict with the other directions of the Compass. I found it was easier at times to maintain Accuracy in relation to the unreliability of the archives than it was the unreliability of the Founders and Survivors findings. This reflects the complexity of this ethical issue in my own praxis, compared to in the practice of historians. Where these acknowledgements of unreliability underpin the contemporary practice of history, they are much more fluid for a creative interpreter. I might choose, as I did in *The Needle*, to demonstrate the unreliability of the archive by creating a fictionalized non-historically defensible narrative like Anna's. I do not have an ethical obligation to pursue Accuracy. In

adapting history, rather than practising history, I believe one of my primary ethical obligations is to understand the ethical obligations of historians.

Conclusion

Making visible the invisible

The challenge with an ethical obligation *to understand* something, with that understanding then being able to be applied in any number of ways, is that it becomes largely invisible in my finished creative interpretations. As with my approach to accuracy or authenticity, an understanding of my ethical considerations cannot necessarily be gleaned by an audience who do not also engage with this thesis. Perhaps the greatest ethical obligation I had in this research then was to communicate through this thesis, as accurately as possible, my own creative methods.

It was only by undertaking my practice *as research* that many of my creative methods truly became clear, even to me, as a practitioner. Prior to beginning this research I had encountered a number of questions in my practice around the relationship my work had to history, the way I was framing "historical accuracy" and the ethics of some of my interpretation choices. A practice-based research strategy allowed me to crystallise and respond to these questions by engaging with my practice whilst contextualising my methods and findings within the wider field. I found solutions to all of my research questions through this interweaving of theory and practice as praxis. By finding solutions to my research questions I also altered my creative methods, thanks to working with a reflective practice strategy. Through this research I have adapted my own methods.

It was in part an ethical compulsion that also drove me to analyse my process of creative interpretation through a lens of history as practised by archival historians. Deciding that archival historians should be part of my intended audience then shaped the way I communicated my praxis throughout this thesis. Considering the communication of my praxis *is* my praxis, in the same way that

an historian's writing of history *is* history, decisions about how I communicated my praxis had a significant influence on my praxis itself. Just as an adaptation of history is shaped by choices around medium, audience and driving aim, my analysis of creative interpretation was shaped by these factors in this thesis.

The key findings of this thesis

One of my primary driving aims was to respond to my four research questions. Adaptation studies proved the key to my first research question in understanding the relationship between history and creative interpretation. My application of an adaptation framework represents a significant contribution to the field of adaptation studies by applying adaptation theory from a practitioner perspective. Rather than framing the relationship between history and creative interpretation as one of authority and privileging one particular set of methods of engaging with the past over another, applying an adaptation framework allowed me to understand the two practices through their similarities but, more importantly, their differences. The specificity of the medium a creative interpretation is developed in means that it is never going to include information using the same methods or representational practices as a work of history. A play script like *The Needle* necessarily includes a whole host of emotional, embodied and experiential details that could not be explored in the same way by an historian.

However, there are points in each of my creative interpretations where my creative methods and an historian's methods of analysis are synchronised, where despite the vast differences between the two there is an intersection in how we engage with the past. These are the points where my creative interpretations have archival accuracy. My second research question sought to navigate the tension between accuracy and the artistic aims of my creative interpretations. I developed an understanding of archival accuracy in my praxis that relates to specific texts and sources, similar to the approach to accuracy taken by an historian. However, I found that the moments where an historian's methods of

source analysis and interpretation intersected with my own creative methods were relatively limited. As soon as I used my creative methods to fill in the gaps in the archive, placing a character like Seth Marley in a situation for which there is no archival evidence and recreating his feelings, thoughts or behaviours, I departed from archival accuracy. Like most playwrights the exploration of feelings, thoughts and behaviours are key to my creative methods, and are thus in constant tension with archival accuracy.

So too are a number of other key considerations. Drawing on Jenny Kidd's suggestion to ask "who needs authenticity and why?" I found that I needed authenticity to explain my adaptation of archival material in ways that were not historically defensible.[1] Authenticity characterised the way I would invent or alter events or experiences away from the archive, drawing upon my own intertextual layered understanding of the past to decide whether my choices felt "real". Whilst this understanding of the past was heavily influenced by history, it was not history, and thus choices made towards authenticity were not historically defensible. This then answered my third research question about the role of authenticity in my praxis.

One of the challenges of authenticity is that making a choice that feels "real" often requires drawing on widely held understandings about the past, which are often either non-evidence-based or reflect a potentially privileged dominant perspective in the archive. This can prove problematic if it excludes perspectives from marginalised voices in the archives, like Indigenous Australians or, perhaps surprisingly considering the scale of the archives, the convicts themselves. In light of this risk, Julia Clark's notion of "integrity" was added to the list of competing agendas in my praxis.[2] Having established my adaptation framework alongside an understanding of audiences in a heritage context, it was important to also consider "accessibility," under its many guises, in developing my creative interpretations. These competing aims were then all variously tempered by the actual logistics of developing a creative interpretation in regards to budget,

[1] Kidd, 25.
[2] Clark, 34.

resources, time and economic aims - issues I was acutely aware of as a doctoral student.

My research questions had siloed accuracy and artistic integrity away from authenticity and not considered these other competing aims, but I found that all six were actually in constant tension with one another. My solution to navigating that tension, as per my original research question, was to develop a navigation tool. The Compass allowed me to articulate when and why I was making particular creative choices, and whether they were in pursuit of Accuracy, Authenticity, Artistry, Accounting, Integrity or Accessibility. It was particularly useful in acknowledging choices that were made away from archival accuracy but towards another aim. Each of my creative interpretations used the Compass in a slightly different way because each had "magnetic North" set towards a different driving aim.

My final research question related to growing ethical concerns in my practice. I encountered a number of ethical issues throughout this research that might not be immediately visible to an audience member or reader in engaging with my creative interpretations but were considered in detail during my process. I have been particularly mindful of the ethical and methodological considerations that come with working with digital archives and databases. Research into these issues will only become more pressing as more and more historical research is conducted online. For some of these issues, including the risk of decontextualising data or the risk of misrepresenting my approach to accuracy, I found actionable solutions in my praxis. For others, such as the question of consent when using convict data and the risk of overstating the certainty of numbers, I applied solutions in my creative interpretations that mitigated, rather than resolved the overall issue. I put forward a case for what I see as an ethical imperative to include Indigenous perspectives in creative interpretations. I have proposed a number of approaches to this based upon consultation with the wider literature but do not wholly implement them in this research. They will in part be resolved during the planned next stage of development for *The Needle* in workshopping it with a creative team.

Limitations and future research

One of the potential limitations of this research, although a conscious choice from the outset, is that I have not evaluated my finished creative interpretations as stand-alone outputs. This research was not designed to establish an overall best practice method or set of techniques for creative interpretation, which would necessitate the analysis of polished creative outputs as proof of my methods. Rather it was intended to be an analysis of my process in order to answer particular questions about my methods. As such I have discussed the creative interpretations wholly in terms of the methods I have used in making them, rather than analysing how effectively they communicate the Founders and Survivors research or my own creative aims as finished outputs. Applying my adaptation framework, developing the Compass and exploring my ethical obligations allowed me to successfully answer my research questions through my practice-based research strategy. However, it will only be by exposing the creative interpretations that I have developed using these tools to audiences, the next natural stage in this process, that I will be able to fully evaluate the efficacy of these tools. This paves a clear path for future research.

Follow-up to this research might involve developing a formal evaluation project to analyse *OHTH* or *The Needle*, drawing on previous studies that have analysed audience responses to museum theatre productions and their ability to communicate historical content.[3] Alternatively, I could draw upon the kind of reflective framework commonly used by ethnodramatists in analysing the contributions my creative interpretations make to knowledge *as stand-alone texts*.[4] By taking *The Needle* through the intended next stage of development in workshopping it with a creative team and reflecting and rewriting the script as needed I will be exposed to a whole range of new feedback and perspectives on the work. When I hand the revised script over to a production team to be

[3] For example see Hughes, "Theatre Performance in Museums: Art and Pedagogy."; "Performance for learning: How emotions play a part."
[4] Goldstein, 61.

developed as theatre I could at that point evaluate audience engagement. I might also research my use of the Compass during this stage of *The Needle*'s development, this time in a collaborative context. Following this doctoral research I will upload *OHTH* to be publicly available on YouTube. This paves the way for a number of different modes of quantitative or qualitative evaluation, including analysing view numbers and viewer comments.

The Compass proved a flexible and productive methodological tool in making *The Needle* and *OHTH* and there is scope now for further research in analysing its use in other contexts. I might use it to navigate specific challenges in my praxis, for example the notoriously difficult and complex representation of violence or sex in creative interpretations, which this thesis did not explore in detail. I could investigate its application by other practitioners. There is also potential for me to research the use of the Compass not as a process-based tool as it appears in this thesis but as a tool for analysing a finished creative interpretation by another practitioner. In building upon my development of *Are your z-scores getting encores?* I might further explore the notion of a conference paper that is also a creative interpretation by analysing presentations by historians or other academics *as* creative interpretations. They might also be analysed *as* adaptations and there is scope for the concept of history as a process of adaptation to be explored in much greater detail.

The differences between my three creative interpretations gives some suggestion of the diversity of creative methods, mediums and epistemological approaches a creative interpreter might use in interpreting history. As such, unlike the practice of history, creative interpretations should not be bound to follow particular established methods or frameworks. However, they should, like history, be publicly discussed, critiqued and perhaps also challenged. The detailed explanation and analysis of my praxis in this thesis can contribute to and perhaps inform this necessary debate, both within the academy but also in influencing public discourse around creative interpretations. This is particularly valuable in light of the influence that creative interpretations have on a wider

public understanding of history, which then shapes notions of identity, cultural and political policy and individual and collective aspirations for the future.

One of my ethical findings related to the value of collaboration, particularly with individuals who can bring different cultural contexts or perspectives in the development of a creative interpretation. My located-ness within the field of history for the duration of this research demonstrates another kind of collaboration. By framing my process through a deep consideration of and consultation with the Founders and Survivors project I have pushed my praxis into an interdisciplinary space that positions creative interpretation alongside and in partnership with digital archival history.

Projects at the frontier of digital history like the Founders and Survivors project depend on large multidisciplinary teams. Tom Stoppard says that theatre is always made by a "gang of people", and so too is digital history.[5] The findings of the Founders and Survivors project demonstrate that the opportunities for innovative, effective and ambitious historical research become amplified when research is undertaken in collaborative partnership with a multidisciplinary team across the wider academy, heritage and archival institutions, government and industry. If this team also included, from the outset, a creative interpretation strategy, with creative practitioners who could navigate the competing agendas of their practice collaboratively with the project team in the development of creative interpretations, then the opportunities for the impact of an historical research project become exponential.

[5] Stoppard. xiii

APPENDIX 1

Oh Hi There History

An eight episode web-series created and produced by Lydia Nicholson.

(2018)

Total running time approx. 38 minutes.

Oh Hi There History was privately published on Vimeo for the examination of this thesis but is now publicly available on YouTube.

Episode 1 Revisionist History (4:26)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AmS9igjjWvc&t=5s

Episode 2 The Convict Archive (4:36)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F97MKIrkCeU&list=PLpsuhMRi7I-v5sGYnGDOl2gj-chKPVzao

Episode 3 Quantitative History (4:33)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7uXSrTyKOuc&list=PLpsuhMRi7I-v5sGYnGDOl2gj-chKPVzao

Episode 4 The Voyage (4:21)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OhFa-dPtLVA&list=PLpsuhMRi7I-v5sGYnGDOl2gj-chKPVzao

Episode 5 Irish Convicts (4:28)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aVU7ZfKKNkk&list=PLpsuhMRi7I-v5sGYnGDOl2gj-chKPVzao

Episode 6 Marriage (4:58)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NNIjp3h89Ew&list=PLpsuhMRi7I-v5sGYnGDOl2gj-chKPVzao

Episode 7 Height (4:49)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GHXd60GrwUw&list=PLpsuhMRi7I-v5sGYnGDOl2gj-chKPVzao

Episode 8 Children (5:37)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kAfY2CxzjVw&list=PLpsuhMRi7I-v5sGYnGDOl2gj-chKPVzao

APPENDIX 2

The Needle

A play by Lydia Nicholson

(2018)

CHARACTERS

AMELIA JANSEN
Amelia, 25, an historian, was born in Hobart, Tasmania. Her mother, Francesca Maria Wright, was born in Hobart, her father, Jim Jansen, in Launceston. Amongst her family tree are two convict sisters who married farmer brothers, one of the earliest Dutch migrants to Tasmania who established an apple orchard, a dressmaker born in Melbourne, a forger born in Hackney, a thief born in Dublin and a grocer born in Campbell Town.

RICHARD CLARKE
Richard, 62, an historian, was born in Manchester, UK, and moved to Tasmania in the 1960s. His mother, May Clark, was born in Birmingham and his father, Edward Clarke, in Lincoln. He comes from a long line of Lincoln-born publicans, bricklayers and button-makers born in Birmingham, a thief born in Dublin, and a clock maker born in Salzburg.

MICHAEL SOLOMON
Michael, 27, a tech entrepreneur, was born in Hobart, Tasmania. His mother, Julie Mei-Ling Howard was born in Hobart and his father, Christopher Solomon, was born in Melbourne. Amongst Michael's ancestors are a draper born in Ballarat, a journalist born in Melbourne, a thief born in Dublin, a clothing manufacturer born in Hong Kong, and one of Australia's most well documented aviation pioneers.

CYNTHIA WALKER
Cynthia, 48, a government project manager, was born in Mt Gambier, South Australia. Her mother, Dorothy Green, grew up on Croker Island Mission, her father, Michael Walker, was born in Mt Gambier. Amongst Cynthia's family tree are a piano tuner born in Adelaide, a pianist born in Auckland, an artist, a soldier, and a teacher born in Salt Creek, a sailor born in Toronto, and a thief born in Dublin.

These family trees are by no means exhaustive, but should influence casting.

(Hobart. A grey government meeting room in a grey multistorey government building. RICHARD and AMELIA enter, laden with gear for a presentation)

AMELIA: It's such classic power consolidation move. Despite the fact that you're there by birth, by divine right, you need to prove that you're the most powerful person for the job. Are we early?

RICHARD: Seems so.

AMELIA: This setup isn't great.

RICHARD: No.

AMELIA: Table to this side and chairs more middle?

RICHARD: Projector here?

(CYNTHIA enters)

CYNTHIA: Hello, sorry I wasn't here to greet you at the desk. Are you the historians?

RICHARD: We are.

CYNTHIA: Cynthia Walker.

AMELIA: Amelia Jansen.

RICHARD: Richard Clarke.

CYNTHIA: Pleasure to meet you both. Do you have everything you need? Would you like tea, coffee, water, biscuits?

AMELIA: I think we're fine, thank you.

CYNTHIA: He should be here soon, don't worry.

AMELIA: That's alright, we're early.

CYNTHIA: You'd want to be though wouldn't you.

AMELIA: We don't have much to set up.

CYNTHIA: Are you nervous? Don't be nervous. Have you got everything? Power cords? Projector? Projector power cords? VGA adapter? Power points. Light switches. These windows open. Those ones don't. Blinds open? Closed? I can close them. I'll close them.

AMELIA: Open is perfect, thank you.

CYNTHIA: Are you sure I can't get you anything? Tea, coffee – it's from the nice place downstairs – water –

RICHARD: Coffee would be great. A flat white and a skinny cappuccino.

CYNTHIA: Wonderful. Back in a tick.

(CYNTHIA exits)

(While chatting they move the table. RICHARD gets the projector out and starts struggling with the stand. AMELIA arranges chairs. She assists RICHARD with the projector stand.)

RICHARD: You need to prove you're the one for the job and get rid of all potential competition.

AMELIA: Yes. Even if you're there by birth.

RICHARD: Yes. But he wasn't was he?

AMELIA: No he wasn't. But most people didn't know that.

RICHARD: But they suspected.

AMELIA: I think it's safe to say most people suspected. Some knew outright. But it's a dangerous thing to suggest openly isn't it?

RICHARD: Yes you can see why people didn't. I completely get the need politically, it has historical precedent – but such a massacre. Rob. Catelyn. Whatserface.

AMELIA: That was the worst. Stabbing her in the belly like that. Even knowing it was coming it was still totally shocking.

RICHARD: So all of that played out like in the books?

AMELIA: Pretty close yeah. It's such good writing – even when you know the story it still surprises you.

RICHARD: I'm still coming to terms with Ned.

AMELIA: I know.

RICHARD: Star of the show.

AMELIA: Gone.

RICHARD: Now Rob too? Who's left – Jon Snow? Don't get me wrong, he seems like a solid enough guy, but he's not a big power player like the others. I wouldn't be surprised if they kill him off soon too. Do you think that works?

AMELIA: I think so. He can sit there. Or there. And I can go here while you –

RICHARD: I think you should go here.

AMELIA: But you'll be talking.

RICHARD: I think here.

AMELIA: I wonder what he's going to be like. I wonder if you saw him in the street would you recognise him.

RICHARD: I wouldn't. You might.

AMELIA: Celebrity recognition is a big part of my skill set.

RICHARD: A very important part.

AMELIA: Thank you.

RICHARD: If you ask me there aren't enough conferences on –

AMELIA: Recognising celebrities in sunglasses.

RICHARD: Exactly.

AMELIA: Do you want to run through the slides one last time?

(MICHAEL enters)

MICHAEL: Am I in the right room? The pitches?

RICHARD: Hello. Yes I think so. We're the first. Cynthia's just popped downstairs if you need to check in with her about times.

MICHAEL: You're the historians right?

AMELIA: Yes. Amelia Jansen. Pleasure to meet you Mr Solomon.

MICHAEL: Michael. You must be Professor Clarke.

RICHARD: Richard, please.

MICHAEL: My mother is so pleased I'm meeting with you today.

RICHARD: How is she?

MICHAEL: Good, good, enjoying retirement. Obsessed with her roses. I've organised a gardener for her but she keeps sending him away.

RICHARD: That sounds like Julie. Did you meet Amelia?

MICHAEL: Yes. PhD student right? How are you enjoying your studies?

AMELIA: Fine thank you –

MICHAEL: I'm so looking forward to this morning. I wish we had more time with each pitch to really get into things. I'm not sure if the fit is right with me but I'm

fascinated by the kinds of things you're up to Richard, sounds like a great little project. But we shouldn't get into it until the coffee arrives. It's one of my meeting rules. I ran into Sylvia on my way up – she's just grabbing coffees then she'll be back.

AMELIA: Cynthia?

RICHARD: Yes I think it's Cynthia.

MICHAEL: Cynthia, right. Sorry. I'm awful with names.

AMELIA: Amelia. Richard. You must have to remember a lot.

MICHAEL: Five thousand employees at our San Fran base alone.

AMELIA: Gosh that's –

MICHAEL: Not that I end up spending much time there. Nice view here. These public servants have better views than most of us.

RICHARD: We always say that if you live here and don't have a view then you're doing it wrong.

AMELIA: Is it nice to be home?

MICHAEL: They should knock out this wall and make a balcony really shouldn't they. Seems a shame to waste this view on such a tiny window.

(CYNTHIA enters with coffees.)

CYNTHIA: Sorry it was chockers. Flat white?

RICHARD: Milly's. I'm the cap.

CYNTHIA: Skinny cap?

RICHARD: Skinny cap.

MICHAEL: I had the almond cappuccino.

CYNTHIA: Right, yes. I should introduce you. Michael this is –

MICHAEL: We've met. Amelia. Richard.

CYNTHIA: You've met. Wonderful. And you're all okay here. Anything you need?

AMELIA: No thank you.

MICHAEL: Thanks no. Maybe if you come knocking when it's time for the next one? Just so I don't have to look at the time and can focus all of my attention on the pitch.

CYNTHIA: I'll knock. Just a light – *(she knocks)*

MICHAEL: Maybe a little louder, so we can hear it.

CYNTHIA: Of course. Like this? *(she knocks)*

MICHAEL: Perfect.

CYNTHIA: I could always call you instead? Or use the room's internal communication system? Let me just get this room online –

MICHAEL: A knock is fine, thank you.

CYNTHIA: At twenty to?

MICHAEL: At twenty to. Thank you so much for all of your help setting this up Cynthia. Why don't you head downstairs and grab yourself a coffee and take a bit of a break until then. You've been such a help.

CYNTHIA: Okeydokey. Twenty to?

MICHAEL: Twenty to.

CYNTHIA: Great. You two should probably get started then. Mr Solomon has a busy morning ahead.

(CYNTHIA exits with a final practice knock on the door)

RICHARD: Mills have you got the –

AMELIA: Yep.

(The projector flickers onto the first slide. AMELIA sits to the side and RICHARD stands by the screen, clicker in his hand. MICHAEL takes out a notepad and pen.)

RICHARD: Big data is changing the way we do history.

Today over ten million Australians are interested in researching their family tree. Everyone can be a historian today. And this is so exciting, because never before has the field of history been so hot, so in demand, so current.

Thank you for taking time out of your schedule to hear about our research.

MICHAEL: My pleasure.

(AMELIA closes the blinds to stop the glare on the screen)

RICHARD: Today my colleague Amelia Jansen and I are going to show you what we've been working on and how together we can join this billion-dollar family history industry – because it is worth billions. Advertising revenue alone from online genealogy research software is through the roof, not to mention knock-on income in tourism. When a tourist feels personally connected to a place their likelihood to hire a car, stay in a hotel and eat in a restaurant increase by 850 per cent.

One of the difficulties is that often those tourism dollars are spent overseas. Pilgrimages back to tiny Irish villages and East London alleyways, that sort of

thing. People going in search of their roots, where they came from, how it all started. Those consumers are slipping through our fingers.

We need to make Australian history such an attractive prospect that people journey closer to home. To find out how it all began here, in Van Diemen's Land. They key to doing that is with our research.

The key to our research is the Tasmanian convict archive.

Between 1803 and 1853 around 73,000 men, women and children were transported to Van Diemen's Land as convicts. They were documented in minute detail by the state – what they looked like, where they were from, their families, what work they did. Then once under sentence their every move around the colony was kept track of – where they worked, any misdemeanours, rewards or punishments they received, permission for marriage, babies born, when their freedom was granted.

We know so much about these people – from the colour of their eyes, to the coins in their pockets, to the kinds of illnesses they had on board during the voyage.

The convict archive is UNESCO World Heritage Listed, it is some of the most detailed documentation of working classes in the nineteenth century anywhere in the world, particularly women for whom typically there aren't detailed public records. The level of detail in the convict archives is absolutely overwhelming, taking up hundreds of kilometres of paper. Conduct records, surgeon's diaries, musters, banking records. It would take you years to wade through all of the different record sets to find your ancestor. It's like finding a needle in a haystack.

Enter our database. Over years we've transcribed and linked the entire convict archive into one massive structured relational database. With a few taps on the keyboard you can refine your search to find the exact convict you're looking for.

You can find the needle within that huge haystack in a matter of seconds. Seconds.

Each convict has their own unique identifier. And whenever we find data to do with that convict it gets added onto their page. The entries go deeper and deeper, get more and more detailed.

You can see here we have Anna O'Reilly, arrived on the John Calvin in 1848, Anna was born in Dublin –

MICHAEL: You know that's my –

RICHARD: Your mum may have let slip.

MICHAEL: Fell in love with her master and married him. She's spent hours on our tree.

RICHARD: Anna was charged with theft, tried in a Dublin court, convicted, sentenced to fourteen years. Anna had brown hair, an oval face, cocked nose, green eyes. On arrival she was aged twenty and stood five foot one and a half. She could read and write, so she said, and she was recorded as being a needlewoman and housemaid.

We have information about Anna's assignment, work done, any reconvictions – one here for theft of jewellery, the moments where she appeared in the census data showing where she was and when. When she received her ticket of leave. Her marriage and children. Her conditional pardon. When she died – a farmer's wife, with no mention of her convict past.

Imagine this level of readily accessible information synced with existing family history searches engines. We've done all of the transcription, all of the categorisation and the linking, all it now takes is for the user to find their own convict ancestor within the database.

MICHAEL: So your database represents added value to an existing product.

RICHARD: Well –

MICHAEL: That's not a problem. It's just valuable to establish that.

RICHARD: The opportunities that come with this data are endless.

Imagine loading this information into a map and then being able to trace your convict ancestor's experiences through the island.

Imagine augmented reality experiences with your ancestor.

Imagine following in their very steps, seeing what they saw, feeling how they felt.

We are resurrecting the past.

We are proposing an augmented digital historical tourism experience that uses our research to take people on a journey through their convict ancestor's life.

MICHAEL: Can you go back to your page about tourism income? The figures? I'd like to know where you got them. My own forecasting has the industry at about 300 million in decline. The family history boom is busting. Anyone who's desperate to find a ball and chain in their family's already found one.

RICHARD: A common misconception.

MICHAEL: What?

RICHARD: Ball and chain. Convicts didn't have them. They were sometimes chained legs together to impede movement but never with a ball.

MICHAEL: Great see I learned something today. Fantastic.

RICHARD: But see history is constantly changing. Not only what we learn from the archives and the new sources that become available as more records become digitised, but also the questions that we ask of the archive constantly change as we as a society change. Our research is actually looking at far more complicated…

MICHAEL: Richard, with respect, I think I've heard enough. I have pledged a relatively small amount of money, which I realise must seem a princely sum to you, and I plan to invest it in a local project. A project that's really going to make something of that money, or you know make a big difference in the community. Really do something. But what you're talking is small fry. Take it from me, you're not going to make any money from your research.

RICHARD: Well that's actually – we're not actually doing it to make money –

MICHAEL: With my technology we find ways to match people's desires to our products. That's how my company has made seven billion in three years. It's seeing what people want and giving it to them. If you can find a way to match people's online profile to a convict ancestor and send them a picture of their convict wearing the latest sneakers, then we're onto something. Like that Egyptian mummy wearing the watch in the ad with Tom Hardy.

AMELIA: Hiddleston.

RICHARD: You want us to connect people with fake convict ancestors in order to make money?

MICHAEL: Not when you put it like that. But they're all as good as fake anyway right? What do we really know about these people at the end of the day?

RICHARD: Honestly not much. The archive is so unreliable, so subjective, so biased – everything's recorded through the eyes of the colonial administration. We can't actually tell people "this is what your convict ancestor was like" "this is what they did" –

AMELIA: But that doesn't mean –

RICHARD: No, that doesn't mean the data is useless. Remember this is some of the most detailed information about nineteenth-century working class men and

women in the world. This is the best we've got. The fact that it's information recorded by and for the state might make it a problematic record of a convict's lived life, but because of that it does tell us a huge amount about the people who made the archive.

By looking at the data en masse we can start to see patterns, see the seams of the system.

Like, when you look at a conduct record it shows you a convict's crime and then their punishment. Do something wrong, get punished. But what if that wasn't the only story?

(AMELIA closes the current power point presentation and opens a new one that RICHARD clicks through)

[SLIDE – graph of time spent in gangs vs economic costs]

We've tracked time spent in punishment in chain gangs and road gangs, alongside the economic cost for masters to keep convicts. When cost of living rises, so do punishment rates – transferring the cost of a convict from free settlers onto the state.

[SLIDE – punishment differences by skill level]

A convict's skills also significantly influenced punishment rates. See how some trades are more likely to be punished than others? Punishment meant getting a convict off your hands for a few days, or even losing them altogether and

hopefully being sent a more useful convict in their place. Those convicts whose skills were more in demand might be let off the hook more often, whereas those less useful ones might be more likely to be punished.

At one point the gender imbalance in the colony was five men to every woman. A good housemaid was hard to get your hands on.

[SLIDE – flips through slides including absconding rates, marriage rates, % of convicts who spent time at Port Arthur]

Punishment served a purpose beyond just punishing the individual, you punish one person and it keeps everyone else in line, and a convict's individual experience of punishment was influenced by economic, social – even political factors – that were completely out of their control. It seems like some people had the cards stacked against them from the start no matter what they did.

The growing colony needed free labour, the state needed workers to build roads and bridges, hospitals and offices, and free settlers needed workers to build up their businesses, tend their sheep, harvest their grain, allow them to trade and expand and bring out more settlers to take more land to build more houses. The convict system was one big labour camp. When you look at an individual record all you see are the details of a convict's behaviour under sentence and whether they were punished or rewarded accordingly. The system depended upon seeing these workers as criminals who needed reform, because otherwise we can't help but see it as a system of forced labour to expand an Empire.

Yet again you've got to be careful with the data, don't just show what you expected or wanted to find. We're finding bizarre quasi success stories that we did not expect to stumble upon.

MICHAEL: So this is what your database is for. You're not looking at individual convicts at all.

RICHARD: No, we're not.

MICHAEL: You're looking at systems.

[SLIDE – transportation mortality rates]

RICHARD: Those hygiene measures that were forced upon convicts on the transportation voyage – all of that washing and scrubbing – meant it was actually safer to travel as a convict than it was as a free migrant during that period, because the state forced you to keep clean which kept you healthy.

Or consider our research on height. When you look at large enough samples all of the genetic anomalies in a group cancel out – the really tall and the really short – and everyone else just sits in the middle. And that middle is different for different groups – height can be an indication of the kind of environmental conditions that that group grew up in.

Convicts were on average shorter than free settlers, thanks to a more disadvantaged upbringing. Recidivists – convicts who reoffended – were shorter still. Children born in the colony were super tall because the environment they were born into was so much healthier than their parents' – fresh food and water, clean air, protected from many of the childhood diseases and growth-stunting

stresses of life back in industrialising Britain. You see it in all new British colonies around that time, North America, Australia, New Zealand – the colonially born tower over their peers born back in Britain. And of course it's important to note that the colonial born were tall because they were dispossessing that sunlight, clean water and fresh food from local indigenous people.

[SLIDE – table of z-scores for colonial born]

We looked at all sorts of environmental factors that might affect height – rural/urban, father's profession – and were shocked to find that having a convict parent meant you were likely to be taller than the mean. You were at a health advantage if you were the child of a convict.

How do we reconcile those kinds of health benefits as a result of state control with the punishment, the forced labour, the sending people away to the other side of the world never to see their families again? Not to mention the violence, massacre, land dispossession and cultural devastation for Aboriginal Australians that came with invasion?

We can search for the needle in the haystack, using the database to pinpoint the exact story we want to tell, and ignore the rest of the haystack. We can look at the haystack, how it's structured, what it's made from, and ignore the needle. But still we're missing the third important part of that image. Who is looking in that haystack?

We are. We are looking. Right now. The past doesn't tell us who we are - it's the questions that we ask of the past that are important. Do you know what the recidivism rate is in Australia today?

AMELIA: 44 per cent.

RICHARD: Nearly half of criminals reoffend. Do you know what it was during the convict era?

AMELIA: 14 per cent.

RICHARD: Do you want to know what almost guarantees that a male convict wouldn't marry, start a family or build a stable life after sentence?

AMELIA: Spending time in solitary confinement.

RICHARD: Do you want to know what increases the likelihood that a convict woman's children will be healthy and tall more than any other variable?

AMELIA: If she can read and write.

RICHARD: These things might be out of the individual's control, but can be changed on a systemic level – health care, incarceration practices, education, employment – which we can see has a huge affect on individual outcomes.

MICHAEL: And your research can fix all of these things?

RICHARD: You cannot wholesale apply the past to the present. But we have access to some of the most detailed long-term intergenerational data -

MICHAEL: So you can't fix anything?

RICHARD: Well there's no guarantees. There's an uncertainty –

(There is a knock on the door)

MICHAEL: That'll be Cynthia. We're going to have to wrap up.

(A louder knock on the door and the lights softly flicker)

MICHAEL: *(calling out)* Thanks Cynthia.

(A louder knock on the door and the lights flicker more violently. The project flickers.)

AMELIA: Richard she's here.

RICHARD: Now?

MICHAEL: Yes that's time, we should wrap up.

AMELIA: She's coming.

(RICHARD and AMELIA wait ready as if to catch a bolting animal. The lights continue to flicker. The door continues to knock. The lights go black, the knocking goes silent. ANNA enters. We see a brief flicker of what might be ANNA, but ANNA is a ghost, completely invisible to everyone except AMELIA – audience included.)

MICHAEL: What just happened?

AMELIA: Shhhhh. Shhhhhh. It's okay.

MICHAEL: What?

(The lights flicker back on and AMELIA is on the ground with her back to MICHAEL and RICHARD, soothing ANNA – still invisible)

AMELIA: It's okay. It's okay.

MICHAEL: Are you okay? Here let me –

AMELIA: *(to MICHAEL)* It's okay. *(to ANNA)* It's okay. Stay calm.

MICHAEL: What just happened? Amelia are you alright?

RICHARD: This part of the research is still in the testing phase.

We talk about being able to resurrect the past – we are resurrecting the past. The project is still in its infancy, which is why we weren't going to discuss it today, *(to ANNA)* which we told you Anna.

MICHAEL: Anna? I thought it was Am –

RICHARD: We're still ironing out some visibility kinks – it currently seems like only the person who does the summoning can see and hear them. Which is Amelia. You can't see Anna – am I right? But I bet you can feel her.

MICHAEL: What?

RICHARD: Feels like all the hairs are standing up on the back of your neck. Like there's someone breathing behind you.

AMELIA: Behind you – she's behind you.

MICHAEL: What?

RICHARD: Amelia. Can you – ?

AMELIA: Anna come back over here. That's right.

MICHAEL: Amelia.

AMELIA: Yes I'm Amelia. This is Anna. She's here. She's a bit shorter than me. Brown hair, green eyes, oval face, fair skin, no visible tattoos, leather boots, wearing a brown dress – sorry white dress.

RICHARD: Anna is a convict.

AMELIA: And a ghost, or 'spectral being'.

RICHARD: Don't be scared. She won't hurt you.

MICHAEL: This is ridiculous.

RICHARD: Anna has been summoned through the data – after piecing together such a detailed picture of her life and experiences and by using the original archival documents as our source material, we've been able to pierce the barrier between then and now to recreate the past in the present.

MICHAEL: What are you even talking about?

RICHARD: It's a complex kind of archival necromancy and at this point we're really only scratching the surface of what's possible with the data.

Why don't you tell us a little bit about yourself Anna. Go on. Just like you told us the other day. Remember?

What's your full name?

What's your full name?

AMELIA: What's your name?

(Beat)

(ANNA responds to AMELIA's question but we hear nothing, only AMELIA can hear her. This is the case for all of ANNA's dialogue until otherwise stated. AMELIA is not possessed by ANNA, she is just the only person who can see and hear ANNA in the room. AMELIA therefore translates out loud what only she has heard. Over time the pause between AMELIA listening to ANNA and then relaying her answer to the others will become shorter, AMELIA's translation becomes smoother. ANNA moves around the room at her will.)

She says Anna O'Reilly.

RICHARD: And where were you born?

AMELIA: *(beat)* She says Dublin, Ireland.

RICHARD: And do you know when?

AMELIA: *(beat)* She doesn't.

RICHARD: That's okay. What was your crime?

AMELIA: *(beat)* Theft.

RICHARD: Of….

(pause)

What ship were you transported on? Anna what ship?

AMELIA: *(beat)* The John Calvin.

RICHARD: In…The year. The year that you came to Van Diemen's Land?

AMELIA: What year was it Anna? *(beat)* 1848.

RICHARD: Thank you. Straight from the horse's mouth. We're taking it slow. So far we've only verified Anna's experiences alongside what we have written in the archive. She hasn't said any more than answering those questions. And nothing directly to me. She's wilful.

MICHAEL: This is cute, Richard, but with all due respect -

AMELIA: *(pointing to the image on the slide) (To ANNA)* This? Yes it's a ship. This is a transport ship. Did you travel on a ship like this Anna? Was this like your ship? What was it like Anna? What was your voyage like? What did it feel like Anna?

(beat)

She says it was long.

(beat)

And wet.

RICHARD: But this is extraordinary. Did she say anything else?

AMELIA: *(to ANNA)* What did you do on board?

(pause)

RICHARD: Did you do a lot of cleaning? You cleaned, didn't you?

I'd suggest that every day you'd have a routine you had to follow – washing down the decks, airing out linen, washing clothes, washing yourself. Isn't that right? Everyone on board the ship followed a kind of hygiene routine, didn't they Anna?

AMELIA: *(To ANNA)* Keeping everything clean so you didn't get sick?

(beat) She says that when they reached land they were allowed on deck that morning and saw green hills on the banks of the river.

She says it was so green. The trees all looked strange.

(to ANNA) That's what I said.

MICHAEL: What? What did she say?

AMELIA: *(to ANNA)* Sorry. *(to the others)* She said the trees all looked queer.

She says the sky was so big. And blue. And a flock of gulls followed the ship.

MICHAEL: This is ridiculous.

RICHARD: We should be writing this down. Amelia your phone.

(AMELIA presses "record" on her phone)

AMELIA: She says they sailed past a dead whale. And it smelt really bad.

(To ANNA) That's what I said Anna. I'm not making it up, I'm interpreting.

RICHARD: What did she say? Tell us exactly what she says.

AMELIA: *(to ANNA)* Say it again. Whatever you think you said just before.

RICHARD: Exactly as she says it.

AMELIA: *(with an attempt at an Irish accent)* "There was a whale off the side, stunk - " stunk – stunk

RICHARD: What?

AMELIA: *(with a worse Irish accent)* "There was a whale off the side, stunk to high heaven- "

MICHAEL: I thought she was from Dublin?

AMELIA: *(bad Irish accent)* There was a whale off the side –

MICHAEL: *(perfect Irish accent)* There was a whale of the side –

AMELIA: *(bad Irish accent)* There was a whale off the side –

MICHAEL: *(good Irish accent)* There was a whale –

AMELIA: *(bad Irish accent)* a whale –

MICHAEL: *(good Irish accent)* a whale –

RICHARD: *(good Irish accent)* a whale –

AMELIA: *(bad Irish accent)* a whale. There was a whale off the side –

MICHAEL: *(good Irish accent)* There was a whale off the side –

AMELIA: *(bad Irish accent)* There was a whale off the side – *(no Irish accent)*

There was a whale off the side. Stunk to high heaven. *(beat)* Blubber and blood and bones. Never seen a whale before, bigger than I thought. There were these huge sharks swimming round about, chewing chunks off, flicking their tails. One of them looked at me, with its eye, and bared its teeth, and snarled this awful noise, and I thought this place is cursed.

RICHARD: I read in the early days of the colony the sounds of whales in the Derwent actually kept people awake at night. Is that what it was like Anna?

AMELIA: When we landed in Hobart Town had to wait onboard. They asked us questions, what we did back home, how old we were, whether we had been on the town, all of that, same as those men always want to know, wrote it all down in their big books. They walked us in a line through the streets up to –

RICHARD: The Female Factory right? It was a site of –

AMELIA: I slept the night in a strange room with strange hard women. Loud. Groups. They all knew each other, knew the rules. As I slept I could hear babies crying. I thought who would have babies in this cold stone place.

RICHARD: There was a nursery where babies born to unwed convict mothers were looked after –

AMELIA: I was first sent to Bagdad.

RICHARD: That's Bagdad, Tasmania, a settlement north of Hobart -

MICHAEL: That's where my grandmother was –

RICHARD: We don't actually have a record of where your first assignment was Anna. Hold on Amelia. Anna. Amelia. Hold on –

(RICHARD goes to look up ANNA's record on his computer but ANNA does not stop to wait)

AMELIA: I worked for a man called Neilson.

RICHARD: Neilson.

AMELIA: I'd hang the clothes out on the washing line and they'd dry so warm and would smell like the sun.

(beat) Once I saw a snake. Waiting for me under the rope line. Sunning itself on the path. I'd never seen a snake before I came here, only seen them up the tree with the apple. This snake didn't look much like that snake. These ones are thin and long, like they could get around your neck. Or slither up your sleeve. I didn't know what to do - not then. I walked on my toes so I wouldn't disturb it, maybe wouldn't wake it. I knew I'd be in for it if I didn't get the linen out. I was not far from it when I heard a voice from behind

"Stop right there you fool don't you see the snake?"

"I see it," I said, "I'm just hoping it don't see me."

"Walk backwards, come back this way. Now."

So I started stepping backwards, thinking it'll be just my luck if there's another one behind me that I step on. I went real careful and light, hardly making a sound. And then there's a stomping on the ground, real loud, and he claps his hands, I still haven't taken my eyes off this snake in front. And the snake picks his head up and hisses and slithers away down a hole. Quick as you like.

"They're most of them cowards at heart. If they hear you coming in time they'll get away, they won't stick around for a fight."

I turned around and there was the man who had saved me. He was one of the farm workers. Brown eyes. Black hair. Looked like the selkies we had back home, the dark seal folk who seduce mortal women. But here we were so far from the

sea, in dust and dirt and snakes and leaves that cracked under your feet and smoke on the wind.

(CYNTHIA knocks on the door and pops her head in)

CYNTHIA: I'm afraid we've actually gone slightly over time. The next group are here and ready to go. The salmon guys. From the salmon industry. They're pitching about salmon.

MICHAEL: Great, thanks Cynthia. Just. Just give us a bit more time.

CYNTHIA: Okeydokey.

(CYNTHIA exits and closes the door)

MICHAEL: Who was he?

AMELIA: *(beat)* His name was Joseph. He came from a village near Galway. As a girl that was as far as the moon, I'd never left Dublin until I came here. But now here we were, thrown together on the other side of the world. He was a fisherman, and he could read the sky like I'd never seen.

He'd hold my hand and point up high and we'd try to catch the same star with the tips of our fingers –

"A little to the left, the big one, right by that pair, can you see it?"

– he'd be right by my cheek, our eyes as close together as they can be before it's one eye, one face. I'd be so close I could feel him smile.

We met most days, behind the sheds. I'd get all of my work done and then go to

check the linen off the line and take a little longer. I think the other hands knew and turned a blind eye if he left his work.

He said he loved me.

He said he couldn't stop thinking about me.

He said he wanted to –

(to ANNA) I'm not saying that.

(beat) Anna I'm at work. *(beat)* No there's nothing wrong with it. I'm just not comfortable with - this is work.

RICHARD: Be faithful Amelia. Whatever she says.

AMELIA: *(beat)* He fucked me so hard I thought I'd split in two.

MICHAEL: Jesus.

AMELIA: But he always spent himself on the grass beside us. Best growing land in the colony.

"I love you," he'd say as he picked leaves and sticks out of my hair.

Every few days he would suck on my skin, hard enough it hurt, and leave a bruise on my wrist, for me to see all day when I thought of him.

The master's wife was ill, kept to her bed pining and missing home, as if we all weren't. She was under the housekeeper's charge. Margaret she was. The housekeeper. English, somewhere - Bristol. Rumour amongst the men was she'd killed her baby back home. I could believe it. It couldn't have been right or she would have swung. But she had that look about her. There was talk about her and the master, from the men, but I'd never seen them together save for him ordering her instructions and having his dinner. Margaret and I didn't talk much. Kept to myself. I didn't tell her about Joseph.

I was building the fire in the sitting room when Master called me into his study.

(We enter the world of ANNA'S story. This is an in-between world – past refracted through the present. The distinction between grey government office and colonial farm blur and in some places break, as do clothing and props, blurring 2018 with 1849. AMELIA is no longer telling ANNA's story for her. MICHAEL becomes ANNA. AMELIA is JOSEPH. RICHARD is NEILSON. CYNTHIA takes on various roles and narration as required, as do the other characters. Dialogue and description is shared amongst all four.)

Dark. Cold. I'd not been in there since the first day I arrived. He was doing the accounts. He looked at me over his glasses, unblinking. His eyes were the palest blue.

"I've been told that you have been having improper relations O'Reilly."

"I'm sorry sir?"

"Improper relations. Out of bounds. Shirking your duties."

"I always do my duties sir. I've not been missing work sir."

"It's against the conditions of your employment to have relations with another servant O'Reilly. Not to mention immoral."

"We're in love sir. We want to marry."

"There are ways of doing these things O'Reilly. Proper ways. And you have not done this the proper way."

"I'm sorry sir."

"I should send you to be punished."

“Please don’t send me away sir. I couldn’t bear to go back there. Please let me stay.”

“You’re a good worker. Consider this a warning.”

“Thank you sir.”

“Your man has had a warning as well. Don’t let me hear of it happening again.”

Joseph returned after a month. Eyes sharp, nails dirty, skin pale after three weeks behind stone.

From then on if I saw him coming I’d walk the other way. I brought the wash in early. I ached all through for missing him. Like some part of me was gone. But I didn’t want him getting hurt again. And better to do it the right way I thought.

“But no-one need know Anna.”

“If we truly love each other,”

“Which I do –”

“ – we can do this the right way, even if it takes time.”

I’d spend each night at my needlework by the window in my room. Carefully pricking each line of stitches on the cloth. I knew if kept to my work and he kept to his and enough time passed we’d be able to apply for permission to marry.

One evening, high summer, when the dusk runs slow and you can sew by the window light for hours, he came to me.

“Come away with me Anna.”

“Away where?”

“Away from here. Where we can do what we like, be together without anyone’s

permission."

"But, I like it here. I'm fed, I'm safe, I enjoy my work. The master is kind."

"But to be with me, Anna."

He traced the bones along my wrist, putting down my needle, hands on me, in me, fingertips finding stars that run through my whole body.

"I can't leave here Joseph. I'd be too scared. Don't leave. Just a bit more time, more time and then we can be together."

Just as the first star was pricking out of the sky I heard the shouting. The master sent out men to search, he rode out himself on his horse. They combed the paddocks and hills. Young John told me Joseph had taken bedding, a gun and a knife, some bread and lamb from the kitchen. Enough food to last days and there's plenty enough fresh water through the hills.

Darkness came. I was waiting for news when I heard a banging of doors in the house. Footsteps down the hall. Heavy breathing. Right outside my door. Then silence. The footsteps carried further down the hall. Heavy, feet dragging on the floor, and a soft low moan, muffled through the wood.

The mistress never came out alone. I waited to hear who would go after her. Silence. No-one. With my blankets around my shoulders, I picked up my candle and slipped out my room, following the direction the footsteps had taken down the hall.

There was a glow coming from the master's rooms. She must have been in his study. The door was ajar and I slowly pushed it open. His fire wasn't lit, there was one candle burning and a form by the empty fire. Hunched over. As I got closer – it wasn't my mistress at all, it was the master, slumped in his chair, I went to turn as his eyes opened and he reached out to me – I thought he meant to grab me or strike me – but his other hand was clutching his belly, blood running through his fingers.

"Help me O'Reilly."

He sat up and opened his shirt and there was the gash, deep and long, across his middle, blood smeared across his front like paint.

"Wait, sir, hold it closed."

Hands slippery and hot, I wiped them down my skirt front and set to work, threading the needle and then piercing it through the two edges of skin, slowly pulling sides together, careful not to pull too tight too quick. The black thread was dense with blood, it caught and clogged as I pulled it through each hole. One I made too close to the edge and it tore through, he sucked in his breath but he didn't cry out. I'd never seen a man so brave. The stitches were messy and uneven, but when I tied off it held, and I was able to clean the rest of the wound.

The master was lying in the chair, not asleep, just breathing deeply. Eyes closed. I built a fire and sat, watching the rise and fall of his chest as he slowly drifted away to sleep. Soon the house stirred back to life as the rest of the men returned from their search, the first lights of dawn seeping across the sky.

"Return to your room O'Reilly. I will be fine."
"Yes sir."
"Thankyou."

I returned to my room, put away my needles and thread, bundled up the bloodied blanket. The night finally caught up to me, Joseph gone, with a gun, attacked the master. He was as good as dead if they ever found him.

I kept my thoughts to myself, my face as stony as I felt inside. But the night's escape in the bush was on everyone's tongues. "They say it wasn't Joseph what stabbed him" said young John quietly as I boiled the water for tea. "It was Margaret."

I took on Margaret's duties. I ordered fires lit, talked with cook about dinner, then set about my work doing the washing, keep the ache in my chest at bay by working my hands, rubbing, scrubbing, pulling, heaving, pouring, folding, sweeping, carrying. They said the master had ridden to town at first light and might not be back all day. I sweated and heaved with the mangle and by midday had the sheets, and my old blanket on the line in the sun. It was only then that I remembered – the mistress.

She was in her room fast asleep, when she woke, her eyes dragging open heavy and crusty with sleep and sickness, she didn't say a word. I think she must have slept through the whole thing. She sipped her tea and ate some bread and butter. "Close the curtains."

I did as she asked and left her be.

When I went to bed that night I was so tired I could not even cry.

Sometimes the mistress would sleep right through the day and night, never waking. When she did wake she'd hardly see me. Wouldn't notice me even if I was sitting right there. Would drink her tea, perhaps take my hand. Only sometime she spoke, of people whose names I'd never heard, of places green and beautiful, of sitting rooms in big houses, balls and dresses. I don't think she knew who I was ever once. The doctor would come from town, visit in with her, bleed her, talk to the master. The room began to smell worse and worse. The air was heavy. I'd open windows while she slept but she always bid me close them when she woke.

The master would not look me in the eye, and I certainly did not seek his. I thought every day he might call me into his study, ask my part in Joseph's plans, tell me he'd hired a new housekeeper – one who knew what she was doing. But the summons never came and he kept his distance. The only times I saw him was passing by each other in the hallway outside the mistress's room – I made sure to open the windows and bring her tea before he came to sit with her each day. He

never stayed more than a few minutes. Some days she knew him and spoke to him, but other days she was in a world of her own, in her mind, and he may as well have been the breeze coming in the window for all she saw of him.

I had nightmares that a snake slithered in my mouth and down my throat and made a nest in my belly. Sliding around in there, its tail flicking the insides of me, tapping at my walls, its tongue tickling my stomach, making me sick, and I'm getting heavy with this cold nasty snake inside me, growing fatter as it eats away at me from the inside. Slowly eating my stomach and my liver, my kidneys, my lungs, and then finally my heart. And I'm just a husk of a girl. It slithers out of me to find another sleeping girl, mouth open in the heat.

One afternoon as I sat with the mistress, waiting for her to eat, just a mouthful, she reached to the table beside her bed and opened a drawer, pulling out a fine woven shawl. Cream with deep red stitching.

"That's very beautiful ma'am."

She looked at me with big eyes, she had grown so thin.

"Come closer O'Reilly."

Her tiny bird hands reached around, weak as anything, and she couldn't quite get the shawl over my shoulder. I went to pick up the end, fallen by my side, but it was picked up and placed over my arm for me. The master brushed down my shoulders, sending the wool in all the one direction, and she smiled, she liked that. He did it again and she smiled again and closed her eyes, slipping into a happy sleep.

Those ice eyes flicked me up and down. "Keep it O'Reilly, it suits you."

I was folding linen when he came in from the fields.

“You’re bleeding Sir.”

Soaking through the fabric and down his leg through his shoes. Staining the floor.

“I’m going to have to clean that floor.”

“I’m sorry. Don’t look so severe O’Reilly. It was Malcolm. With the scythe. An accident, O’Reilly, just an accident. Will you?”

I pulled the cotton taut but not so tight it would snap. Tying it off. This time much neater work. Cream stitches stained deep red.

Some days the mistress raged like a wild animal. The master was the only one who could calm her.

“Wait outside Anna, don’t let anyone else in.”

Later he came to me in the rose garden.

“It’s just a scratch but I think it might need…”

I used pale blue.

I’d catch him running his fingers along where the scar must have been. Smoothing it under his shirt sleeve.

I was always finding reasons to walk through the rose garden. The mistress had it planted when they first arrived on the island. Roses from all over the Empire I was told. Each with a little name-plate in front so you knew what it was, even in winter when the stalks had been cut back to the fork, nubs waiting to grow. As the weather warmed they’d reach and open. All different – every rose a different

colour. There was a white rose that climbed up an arbour with a bench under it. Sometimes, when all of my work was done for the morning and I had a spare moment to myself, I would sit at that bench. The rose garden had been walled in. Only if you stretched your neck like a bird could you see over and into the fields, see the hills, browns and dull greens in the distance, more like a nest than a carpet. But if you didn't, you could have been anywhere. Some said it felt like back home.

I imagined that other me, back home, on some street, some smoggy morning, cobblestones familiar as knuckles, feet slipping over them in the dark and the cold. Dodging holes and horse shit, jump the gutter, skip the puddles, rap the door knocker. Wait until I hear footsteps in the hallway then quick as I can, nearly dropping her, squeeze her to my chest and place her by the door. Not so close the door would knock her when it opens. Then I run. I run not looking back. Back through the dark.

Later they let me out of my cell and back in my arms this tiny, skinny, cold, shaking, crying. She keeps crying. Can't sleep for the ache in her belly. That rattle of nothing. Pity the mother who knows exactly why her babe is crying.

When I'm in the rose garden I'm not back home. I'm right here. This is my home.

On the day the mistress died he placed the knife in my hands.
Across his chest a deep cross.
I black-worked it in. Rimming the edges with lace.

Turns out the mistress had a sister. Big hipped. Big hair. Big ambitions. Within two months they were married and just like that I was sent back to the factory for a new placement.

I wasn't there long before my next master took me on – the first-time farmer who drowned in his own dam.

Then it was the cobbler with a taste for small shoes.

The book-binder with the fear of birds.

The second cobbler with a taste for leather.

My first marriage proposal came from a man who watched me across the street for a good ten minutes while I cleaned the horse shit from my boots with a sharp stick before approaching my master.

That was when I was with the watchmaker. The watchmaker with The Brother.

When I was finally able to seek my own work I knew what to look out for. Someone young, ambitious, strong, savvy – keen to make a name to clear his name. I found William easily. I chose him. We were given permission to marry and settled north on land near Jericho. Far from town.

It seems being mistress of my own household was much the same as being housekeeper. Our house was little more than a timber shack but I kept it clean, hung linen on the line out back, stoked our small fire. Watched for the first stars to prick the night sky and welcomed William home each evening.

Eight times I fell with child. Five new breathing babies slithered out between my

legs. Five boys. My boys.

I was cleaning up the dishes – threading my needle – hanging out the linen – I knew when I started to fall.

Close the curtains. Dig down, deep in my bed. Burrow in. Stay warm. Hear voices. Then nothing but the breeze through the window. Stay still. And quiet. And safe.

I took a breath and I'm back in my garden. On the bench under the climbing white rose. Waiting in the sun with no more work to do. I watch as a little blue wren, breast like a sapphire, bobs through the grass picking up seeds and grubs, scrapping around the foot of a peach coloured rose, then pink, then deep blood red.

I took a breath and I was in a cold grey room with an old man and a young woman dressed as a man. White walls. Desks covered in papers. Stark white light. Buzzing. Flickering. Bright. She sees me. I'm – I think I'm – I can't move.

"What is your name?"

"What is your name?"

Where am I?

"What is your name?"

Can you help me? Anna. I'm Anna.

"What is your name?"

Anna. Mason – O'Reilly. Anna O'Reilly.

"Where were you born?"

"Where were you born?"

Please.

Where were you born?

Dublin. I was born in Dublin. Please can you –

"When were you born?"

I –

"When were you born?"

I –

"When were you born?"

I – I don't – please. Let me go –

"When were you born?"

(The lights flicker. The scene breaks. We are back in the present with AMELIA, RICHARD and MICHAEL. The present is now refracted through the past, set, props and costumes are still a mix of old and new. ANNA is invisible once more and the other characters are themselves. AMELIA is choking and coughing. ANNA, invisible, is attacking her. A scuffle, RICHARD goes to help.)

AMELIA: Stop. She's got a needle. To my eye. Anna don't. Anna. Anna. Please. I can't. Please. Anna. Sorry. I'm sorry.

(MICHAEL and RICHARD are both knocked to the floor. Chaos. AMELIA pulls herself away from ANNA. Lights flicker. ANNA leaves)

MICHAEL: That fucking criminal bitch stole my fucking ring.

AMELIA: Anna? Anna, are you there?

MICHAEL: Sorry. Fuck. Are you okay? That was –

AMELIA: Anna are you okay? She's gone.

MICHAEL: We should call security.

AMELIA: No, wait.

RICHARD: Please wait.

MICHAEL: I'm calling security.

AMELIA: When she crossed over –

RICHARD: That's not Anna. Our data is a limited, partial, fragmented version of Anna's life. It's the memorable moments when she's come into contact with the state, all stitched together, ignoring everything else because we don't have records for anything else, so that becomes who she is. That's all she can be. The sum of her life, as far as we know, is her brushes with the law. In our database she is only ever and always will be a convict.

AMELIA: No that's not what –

(CYNTHIA knocks on the door and pops her head in)

CYNTHIA: Everything okay in here? We really are running very over time.

MICHAEL: We're done. We're done. We're done here.

CYNTHIA: Great I'll send in the fishermen.

MICHAEL: No I need. I need lunch. The salmon guys can pitch to me over lunch.

CYNTHIA: I think they have a presentation prepared.

MICHAEL: If you can't sum up a pitch in ten minutes in a restaurant then it's not a very good pitch.

(CYNTHIA leaves)

MICHAEL: Richard. Amelia.

RICHARD: Michael…

(AMELIA finds something on the floor.)

AMELIA: Your ring. She must've dropped it.

MICHAEL: Thank god. I was not looking forward to explaining that to my wife.

RICHARD: Give my best to your mother.

MICHAEL: I'm… your research …. Goodbye.

(MICHAEL leaves)

AMELIA: Well.

RICHARD: Well.

AMELIA: That went…

RICHARD: Are you okay?

AMELIA: Yes.

RICHARD: You're not –

AMELIA: I'm fine. Are you okay?

RICHARD: Yes. No. Yes.

(RICHARD and AMELIA pack up their gear in silence)

AMELIA: I'm sorry we didn't get the funding.

RICHARD: Yes me too. There'll be other ones.

AMELIA: We're not going back to the office are we?

RICHARD: We are definitely going to the pub. You head down in the lift with the gear and I'll get the car.

(RICHARD and AMELIA exit)

(CYNTHIA enters. She tidies the room, righting furniture, putting away mess, opening the blinds. AMELIA has left her phone on the table. The lights flicker. ANNA is in the room. She is stronger and visible, she is ANNA from that past world played by MICHAEL. ANNA watches CYNTHIA for a while.)

ANNA: What is your name?

(beat)

What is your name?

CYNTHIA: Beg your pardon?

ANNA: What is your name?

CYNTHIA: Cyn. Cynthia.

ANNA: What is your name?

CYNTHIA: Cynthia Walker.

ANNA: Where were you born?

CYNTHIA: Mt Gambier. It's in South Australia.

ANNA: When were you born?

CYNTHIA: 1970.

ANNA: What year did you arrive?

CYNTHIA: 1998. 99. My husband transferred to a job at Taroona so we upped sticks and came here with the kids.

ANNA: What was your crime?

CYNTHIA: I know right – when he first told me I thought Tasmania? You've got to be kidding. It wasn't cool then like it is now, it was like moving to the middle of nowhere. Three children under five, my Mum and Dad in Mt Gambier, we had a nice house – big backyard. But Mal was going to be the youngest vice-principal the school had ever had.

ANNA: How long were you sent for?

CYNTHIA: It was a five-year contract, but then we stayed on. I'd found work with the government and Mal loved the school. It is a good school. Hanging pride of place in the front office is a portrait of Our Mary.

ANNA: Catholic?

CYNTHIA: Princess. We're nothing. My mum left all that behind when she left the mission. And she left the mission as soon as she could. We've been through all the archives that many times, hired a private dick, but there's no records for her. I spend half my life filing receipts and backing up every last memo and useless email. Steven in IT says if it's not saved in three places it doesn't exist. But there's not a single record I can find anywhere in this country about where my mum was from before she was taken to that place. Who her family were. Nothing.

ANNA: What ship did you arrive on?

CYNTHIA: Ship? No ship, we sent a truck and flew from Adelaide. Love I would love to keep chatting but I've got quite a lot of work to do.

You take care of yourself.

(CYNTHIA leaves, closing the door. ANNA is alone. She investigates the room. Sounds outside of someone coming up the stairs. ANNA hides. AMELIA enters. She quickly scans the room and finds her phone. She presses a button and the phone stops recording. She presses play.)

RECORDING OF AMELIA'S VOICE: She says they sailed past a dead whale. And it smelt really bad. That's what I said. I'm not making it up Anna, I'm interpreting.

(AMELIA fast-forwards)

RECORDING OF AMELIA'S VOICE: When we landed in Hobart Town had to wait onboard. They asked us questions, what we did back home, how old we were, whether we had been on the town, all of that, same as those men always want to know, wrote it all down in their big books.

(AMELIA fast-forwards)

RECORDING OF AMELIA'S VOICE: He fucked me so hard I thought I'd split in two.
RECORDING OF MICHAEL'S VOICE: Jesus.

(AMELIA fast-forwards)

RECORDING OF AMELIA'S VOICE: I was building the fire in the sitting room when Master called me into his study.

(silence)

(AMELIA rewinds)

RECORDING OF AMELIA'S VOICE: I was building the fire in the sitting room when Master called me into his study.

(silence)

(AMELIA fast-forwards)

(silence)

(AMELIA fast-forwards. ANNA stealthily approaches behind AMELIA's back, needle in hand)

(silence)

(AMELIA fast-forwards)

RECORDING OF RICHARD'S VOICE: In our database she is only ever and always will be a convict.

RECORDING OF AMELIA'S VOICE: No that's not what –

(AMELIA rewinds)

(silence)

(AMELIA fast-forwards)

RECORDING OF CYNTHIA'S VOICE: … there's not a single record I can find anywhere in this country about where my mum was from before she was taken to that place. Who her family were. Nothing.

(AMELIA stops the recording. AMELIA turns and faces ANNA. She knew she was there.)

(beat)

(AMELIA's phone rings)

AMELIA: *(answering the phone)* I'm here. Got it. *(beat)* No. No-one's here. *(beat)* Out the front in five. *(She hangs up the phone.)*

(*AMELIA considers ANNA. ANNA considers AMELIA. AMELIA goes to speak. She cannot find the right words. AMELIA pockets her phone. ANNA pockets her needle*. *AMELIA leaves, leaving the door open. ANNA is alone. The lights flicker. ANNA remains. She looks to the door. The lights fade.)*

The End.

SOURCES TO CONSULT FOR RICHARD AND AMELIA'S PRESENTATION

Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish. ""And All My Great Hardships Endured?" Irish Convicts in Van Diemen's Land." In *Transnational Perspectives on Modern Irish History*, edited by Niall Whelehan, 69-87. United Kingdom: Routledge, 2015.

Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish, Kris Inwood, and Jim Stankovich. "Prison and the Colonial Family." *The History of the Family* 20, no. 2 (2015).

Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish, and Rebecca Kippen. "Sickness and Death on Convict Voyages in Australia." In *Lives in Transition: Longitudinal Research from Historical Sources*, edited by Peter Baskerville and Kris Inwood. Canada: McGill University Press, 2014.

Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish, and Lydia Nicholson. "Penal Transportation, Family History, and Convict Tourism." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Tourism*, edited by Jacqueline Z. Wilson, Sarah Hodgkinson, Justin Piche and Kevin Walby, 713-34. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

APPENDIX 3

Are your z-scores getting encores?

A conference paper as play script by Lydia Nicholson

(2016)

CHARACTERS

Lydia Nicholson, 30

Written for the 2016 Digital Panopticon Conference
Hobart, Tasmania, June 2016.

(A packed conference auditorium. LYDIA is alone onstage.)

LYDIA: Hello my name is Lydia Nicholson and I'm a PhD student at the University of Tasmania.

"Staging Digital Data: Are your z-scores getting encores?"

Apparently I can't write conference paper titles that aren't alliterated, rhyming or at the very least involving some kind of pun. I attribute this to my showbiz roots – I'm a theatre-maker, and in the theatre we like things to be snappy. Although it could be due to any number of variables – the amount of caffeine in my system the day I wrote the abstract, the recent feedback I'd received about a particularly boring paper title, my anxiety about presenting my research and hoping that a snappy title, like a good magician's assistant, would act as useful misdirection.

My research straddles a space between history, heritage, performance and adaptation studies. My PhD explores the interpretation of the Founders and Survivors research through performance. My work is practice-led and I'm

focusing on a number of research publications by the Founders and Survivors Project and developing a number of large-scale performance pieces that seek to interpret the *findings* of the research – but also seeks to interpret the *process* of the research – how is historical research conducted, particularly quantitative research.

Today I'm going to cover some of the strengths and weaknesses of using performance as an interpretative tool. Then I'm going to focus on some of the work I've been doing interpreting the article 'Prison and the Colonial Family.' I'll give an outline of the article and then explore some of the challenges of performing quantitative analysis.

Performance has been used as an interpretative tool for history for thousands of years. If the Ancient Greeks had run evaluation surveys after their performances, they would have been able to tell you that performance is a valuable tool for constructivist learning, allowing audiences to engage through empathy, and supports both the exploration of multiple historical perspectives as well as what the past specifically means to us today. Performance makes exquisitely explicit the process of interpretation that lies at the heart of any work of history – I'm telling a story, I'm taking on a role, I'm clearly making choices particular to me. Of course there are limits to using performance as an interpretive tool – performance is often criticised for sanitising, generalising, trivialising and fictionalising history. This is because it often does.

Performing history is not history – as soon as you deviate from the written practice of history as done by historians of interpreting authenticated sources to build an argument or narrative, and interpret history through another form whether that's a novel, a play or an exhibition, it stops being history and is no replacement for history.

One of the research publications I'm interpreting is an article called 'Prison and the Colonial Family' by Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, Kris Inwood and Jim

Stankovich. 'Prison and the Colonial Family' uses height data to explore the health of children born in the colony.

The article begins with a brief foundation course in analysing height data. We all know that in general people in the past were short. This is because your height isn't just due to your genes but also to your environment – if your mother eats well during pregnancy and you eat well during your childhood you will have enough energy to grow as tall as your genes will let you. However you might fall victim to any number of 'environmental insults' along the way that will stunt your growth, by insulting you through disease, opiates and alcohol, too much stress, or not enough sunshine. Also known as doing a PhD.

Convicts, thanks to a cocktail of these environment insults, were much shorter than free settlers. Convict recidivists were even shorter. But the colonially born, the children of the convicts and free settlers, they were tall. All of the fresh food, clean water, bright sunshine and relatively sanitary conditions of colonial Van Diemen's Land meant that these first-generation children were really thriving.

The colonially born were so tall that they were nicknamed cornstalks on the mainland, and here in Tasmania they were called barracoutas – after the fish – which personally I think is rather a fraught nickname because barracoutas are certainly long and skinny but aren't what you'd call tall. However, the Tasman Bridge - that many of you would have crossed on your way in from the airport - if you stood it up on its ends, is taller than Mount Wellington, so I guess barracoutas work the same way.

The question the authors of the article wanted to ask was how did the children of convicts stack up against the children of free settlers? We've all heard of the convict stain – the social stain of having a convict for an ancestor, but what if the convict stain was biological? What if your health was actually disadvantaged because you had a convict parent?

Before the authors reveal their findings they first guide the reader through a delightful red herring of a story following a young chap called Seth Marley, the son of a convict, who had a terrible time. Marley was very short – you might say he was more of a herring than a barracouta, he was also always in trouble with the police and acts as the poster boy for the biological convict stain. In the article we hear all about Marley's run-ins with the law, his criminal siblings, and get a wonderful litany of Marley's childhood injuries: being attacked by a magpie, blowing half his nose off with gunpowder, knocked off a horse by a cricket ball – things that really stick in the reader's mind. You will remember Seth Marley.

However, after a discussion of the data, the analysis and the findings, the reader gets a lovely gotcha moment because the data shows that the children of convicts, like Seth Marley, actually didn't have an intergenerational health disadvantage, but were actually at a statistical advantage.

Spoiler alert. I told you, performing history isn't history – if you want history read the article.

This research overturns some really widespread assumptions about cycles of deprivation and offending, and lets us ask some bigger questions – can we reconcile the potential health benefits of transportation alongside the punishment and forced labour narratives we hold so dear? What questions does it dare us to ask about contemporary incarceration practices? How do we marry this type of history, the numbers, the big data, with the rich and unique individual stories of convicts?

This is one of the key challenges for the quantitative historian. Giving quantitative history a voice. You can look at this data and immediately understand how it works. But a lot of people can't. And one of the great difficulties of quantitative history is finding ways to explain the process so that it actually makes sense to the non-expert reader. I'm sure we'd all agree there is no point knowing the findings if you don't know how they were found – knowing where in the haystack you found that needle and why you knew to look there.

There are a number of ways you can do this. The first option is to give your audience a firm grounding in quantitative analysis. Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately for you, I've only been allocated 20 minutes to speak today, so that's not going to be feasible.

I could find ways to visualise the data with some user-friendly graphs or animations, I could physicalize the data in some way, I could relate it to concepts the audience is already familiar with as a kind of analogy.

I could perform a play about the story of the process of quantitative analysis, following our three heroes Maxwell-Stewart, Inwood and Stankovich – late nights at the office with Chinese take-away, running numbers through software, a sort of *The Imitation Game* meets *Wolf of Wall Street*.

Actually that's probably not how it went at all. The reality is Hamish's computer wouldn't be whirring and ticking and beeping like a little enigma machine, he would have just been using his laptop, pressed a button, got a few seconds of that spinning beach ball, then a number would have appeared. The z-score for children of convicts. Going the completely opposite direction than they expected. The authors had already found their Seth Marley example – short boy thief son of a convict – and suddenly the findings didn't support him. Hamish would have run it a few times just to check it wasn't an error, then sent an email to the others – Stankovich elsewhere in Hobart would have been pleasantly surprised. Meanwhile, a few thousand kilometres away in Canada, Inwood would have been fast asleep in bed, maybe his subconscious heard the muffled 'ding' of his email in the other room, but likely he would have ignored it till the morning because it's 2am and he's trying to maintain some semblance of work-life balance.

Doesn't make quite as exciting a story though does it? And pressing a button doesn't tell us how he did it.

Let's say I measured the height of everyone in this room now. Don't worry, I won't tell you the results, it's all totally confidential – ethics approval and all that – although some of you are surprisingly tall.

There might be enough of us that if I were to plot all of our heights in a graph with height along the x-axis and number of people of that height along the y, we'd fall into a Gaussian curve. A kind of bell curve that all height data falls into if the sample size is large enough. The super tall and the super short cancel each other out leaving the majority in the middle with the mean bang in the middle.

If there are enough people in my sample I can test which different variables have had an effect on your height. Like father's profession, or whether your parent was a convict.

Let's say we've got a child of a shoemaker and a child of a convict. But an individual could be both the child of a shoemaker and the child of a convict…

Essentially we need to look at each variable one at a time. Archie can't work out whether or not he's in love with Betty if he's also on a date with Veronica. You've got to go out with each girl separately, not be running between the two. Archie also needs someone to compare the girls to - a control group that he's not going to date, so he can accurately gauge how much he likes each girl. Midge.

So we look at our variables separately, alongside our control group, but then we need to compare them to see which ones are more significant than others. This brings us to z-scores.

(LYDIA physically traces an invisible bell-curve, the mean running down the middle of her body. See Fig. 4)

If my body is a bell-curve then one standard deviation is the length of my foot. The bulk of the data lies within one standard deviation either side of the mean. A z-score is measured in standard deviations. We split the group according to each

variable and find out its z-score. A higher positive z-score means you're more likely to be taller than the mean, a lower negative z-score – you're more likely to be shorter. When calculating z-scores we control for age and sex. Basically it's like setting up a tinder profile for historical data. You set age and sex and then see what you get in that group.

By giving the variables that might affect height a number, a z-score, we can then compare them.
I could test native place as a variable.
I could test by father's profession, by whether or not you had a convict parent, by star sign, shoe size, whether or not you actually ever read Archie comics as a child - some of these independent variables may not prove to be statistically significant.

The one way we can't split the group is by how tall you are, that's the dependent variable and you don't want to mess with that. All that's going to tell us is that the tallest people are the tallest people, and even if they all have some things in common it doesn't necessarily mean that that's what's making them tall.

Statistics, like archives, objects, or very small children, aren't going to speak for themselves. It's then up to the historian to interpret why the variable might be significant, to apply archival research back on top of these quantitative findings.

Remember the hero of our article, Seth Marley? As the son of a convict he had a good chance of being taller than the mean. Instead as an individual he had an incredibly low z-score for his age. Does this mean the data is wrong? Not necessarily. Does this mean Marley is an outlier? It seems that way.

Two weeks ago I found myself in Launceston at the corner of Brisbane and the Quadrant where 140 odd years earlier Seth's brother and two sisters had been arrested for stealing nine pies. Nine pies. I imagined Seth Marley, boy thief, waiting outside the shop for the others then pelting round the corner and up the hill to safety.

The theory went the further up the hill they could get the slower the baker might be running after them. They stopped halfway up George street to each cram one of the piping hot beef pies in, tongues burning skin peeling off the roof of their mouths, licking fingers and crumbs buttery pastry.
The Constable caught up with them on Frederick street. Seth felt a stab of guilt in his side as the others were marched back down the hill, wise enough to keep their faces towards the river and not look back to him crouched low behind the stone wall.
Whatever bad he felt for not getting nicked quickly turned to good, as he opened the pouch of his shirt and looked at the five remaining pies, all his. The top of one had split, smearing its greasy filling across the fabric. Seth wolfed them all and licked his shirt clean. He'd never felt so full.
As he walked home through the scotch burying ground he kept an eye out for his father. Seth felt that pang of guilt return, sharp and urgent, and stopping by a headstone, hands on knees, he poured his guts out in the grass, globs of pie crust and glistening chunks of meat half chewed, the whole mess wasted.

(beat)

I don't know what kind of pies they were, they could have been cherry, or apple, or the first recorded theft of a famous Tasmanian scallop pie. But there's something so visceral about a meat pie. Particularly one vomited in the dirt by a boy not used to having a full stomach. I don't know if Seth was involved in the theft - none of the recorded evidence places him there that day.

The data tells me that Seth and his siblings might have had a harder time of life compared to other children of convicts. Knowing that Seth might have not had enough to eat, might have lived in a high-stress family environment, might have been cold or tired or under-supported, made me want him to be there that day, to enjoy the bittersweet victory of those pies. Even just for a moment.

I tracked Seth in the archive through years of hardship and pain, comparing and analyzing him like a beetle at the end of my pin. I found Seth in the database, but then I lost him in the data. Quantitative historians turn lives into numbers, sanding off the edges of an individual life until it fits a mold – or doesn't – losing sight of the person beneath bigger and bigger sample sizes. Seth stops being a boy and becomes a number, just like his convict father.

This is haystack history, who cares about the needle. The haystack is a ticking counter, a growing database, a pile of shoes worn by people reduced to the variable that defines them**.** The historian gathers her numbers, like a trawler, sweeping in big and small alike, indiscriminately grabbing everyone within her search area, weaving them into ever more complex codes and ways of seeing. You're not just looking at the herring, you're looking at the whole school of fish.

But if you're looking at the whole school of fish, you can see the currents change, feel the temperature rise, spot the shadow of the shark slowly tailing them. Lone voices with ink so faint they're close to falling off the pages of the archive can find strength in numbers, jumping space and time to find kinship and common experience, to know they weren't isolated, that they've been counted. These numbers bring class actions against the archive, they push against the grain, they call out the gaps. The quantitative historian speaks numbers into stories. It might be haystack history, but these stories unlock the haystack, sifting and sorting, guiding you back to the needle.

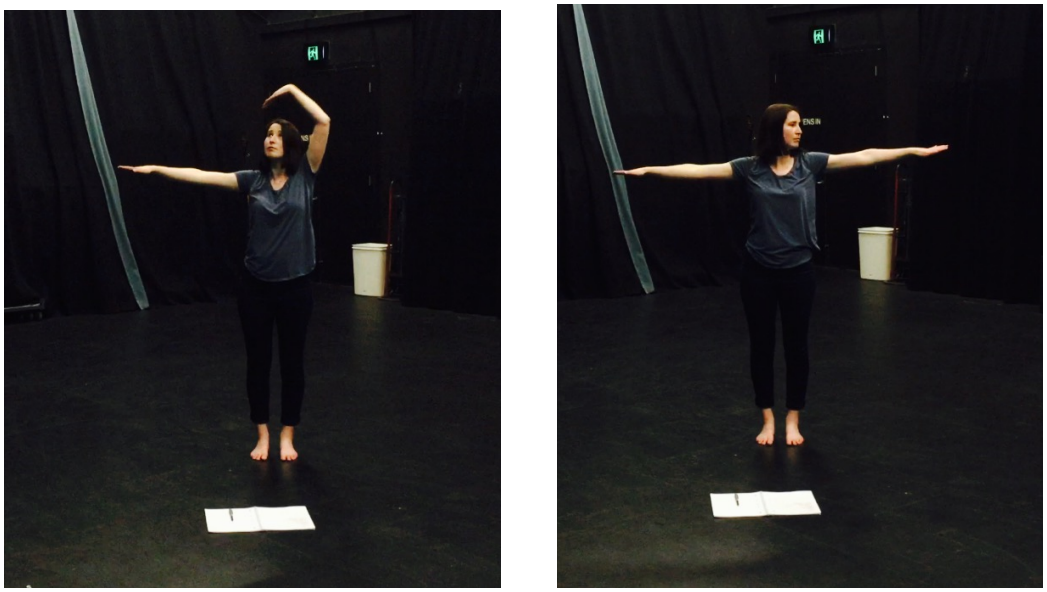

Fig. 4 A bell-curve.

Bibliography

Abidin, Crystal. "Communication Intimacies: Influencers and Perceived Interconnectedness." *Ada: A Journal of Gender, New Media, and Technology*, no. 8 (2015).

Ackroyd, Judith, and John O'Toole. *Performing Research : tensions, triumphs and trade-offs of ethnodrama*. UK: Trentham Books, 2010.

Adams, Tim. "Hilary Mantel interview: 'My problem is never ideas. My problem is time.'." *The Observer*, April 27 2014. http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/apr/27/hilary-mantel-interview-wolf-hall-novelist-margaret-thatcher-assassin Accessed August 13 2018

Adcock, Lynne. "Practitioner perceptions of the effectiveness of dramatized interpretaton." Queensland University of Technology, 2005.

Adcock, Lynne, and Roy Ballantyne. "Drama as a Tool in Interpretation: Practitioner Perceptions of its Strengths and Limitations." *Australian Journal of Environmental Education* 23 (2007): 31-43.

Alexander, Alison. *Tasmania's Convicts: How felons built a free society*. Crows Nest, N.S.W: Allen & Unwin, 2010.

Ancestry Corporate. "The many ways our family has grown." Ancestry Corporate, https://www.ancestry.com/corporate/about-ancestry/company-facts. Accessed November 17 2017

Anderson, Clare. "Transnational Histories of Penal Transportation: Punishment, Labour and Governance in the British Imperial World, 1788-1939." *Australian Historical Studies* 47, no. 3 (2016): 381-97.

Arden, Katherin. *The Girl in the Tower*. UK: Penguin Random House, 2017.

Association for Heritage Interpretation. "What is Interpretation?" http://www.ahi.org.uk/www/about/what_is_interpretation/. Accessed 23 October 2017

Australia Council for the Arts. "Protocols for producing Indigenous Australian performing arts." NSW: Australia Council for the Arts, 2007.

———. "Protocols for producing Indigenous Australian writing." NSW: Australia Council for the Arts, 2007.

Australian Centre for Public History. "What is Public History." University of Technology Sydney, https://www.uts.edu.au/research-and-teaching/our-research/australian-centre-public-history/about-acph/what-public-history. Accessed 30 June 2018

Australian Human Rights Commission. "Close the Gap: Indigenous Health Campaign." https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-social-justice/projects/close-gap-indigenous-health - what. Accessed 28 June 2018

Ayres, Edward. "Colonial Williamsburg's Choosing Revolution Storyline by Colonial Williamsburg." *The Public Historian* 20, no. 3 (1998): 77-92.

Balint, Ruth. "Soft Histories: Making history on Australian television." *History Australia* 8, no. 1 (2011): 175-95.

Bate, Jonathan, and Dora Thornton. *Shakespeare: Staging the World*. UK: British Museum Press, 2012.

Baum, Lynn, and Catherine Hughes. "Ten Years of Evaluating Science Theater at the Museum of Science, Boston." *Curator: The Museum Journal* 44, no. 4 (2001): 355-69.
Beck, Peter J. "For historians, even 'historians of a postmodernist kind', 'presentation' is the word." *Rethinking History* 19, no. 3 (2015): 429-49.
———. *Presenting History: Past & Present*. US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
Becker, Marjorie. "When I was a child, I danced as a child, but now that I am old, I think about salvation." In *Experiments in Rethinking History*, edited by Alun Munslow and Robert A. Rosenstone. Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2004.
Bennett, Alan. *The History Boys*. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2004.
Bluestone, George. *Novels into film*. USA: John Hopkins University Press, 1957.
Bortolotti, Gary R., and Linda Hutcheon. "On the Origin of Adaptations: Rethinking Fidelity Discourse and "Success": Biologically." *New Literary History* 38, no. 3 (2007): 443-58.
Bourke, Nicole A, and Philip M Neilsen. "The problem of the exegesis in Creative Writing Higher Degrees." *TEXT*, no. 3 (2004).
Bovell, Andrew. "National Play Festival Keynote Address." In *National Play Festival*. Carriageworks NSW: Playwriting Australia, 2014.
Boyce, James. *Van Diemen's Land*. Melbourne: Black Inc., 2008.
Boyer, Paul. "Whose history is it anyway? Memory, politics and historical scholarship.". In *History Wars: The Enola Gay and other battles for the American Past*, edited by T.E Linenthal and T Englehardt. New York: DWL 1996.
Boyer, Peter. "Chasing rainbows at Port Arthur - Tasmania." *Papers and Proceedings: Tasmanian Historical Research Association* 32, no. 2 (1985): 45-55.
Bradley, James, Rebecca Kippen, Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, Janet McCalman, and Sandra Silcot. "Research note: The founders and survivors project." *The History of the Family* 15, no. 4 (2010): 467-77.
Bradley, James, and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart. "Alexander and the Mother of Invention." In *Chain Letters: Narrating Convict Lives*, edited by Lucy Frost and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart. Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 2001.
Brædder, Anne, Kim Esmark, Tove Kruse, Carsten Tage Nielsen, and Anette Warring. "Doing Pasts: authenticity from the reenactors' perspective." *Rethinking History* 21, no. 2 (2017): 171-92.
Brien, Donna Lee. "Creative practice as research: a creative writing case study." *Media International Australia*, no. 118 (2006): 53-59.
Brook, Peter. *The Empty Space*. UK: Penguin Books, 1968 / 1990.
Bruhn, Jorgen, Anne Gjelsvik, and Eirik Frisvold Hanssen, eds. *Adaptation Studies: New Challenges, New Directions*. UK: Bloomsbury, 2013.
Burgess, Jean, and Joshua Green. *YouTube: Online Video and Participatory Culture*. USA: John Wiley & Sons, 2013.
Butterworth, Jo. "Interview: In conversation with Jo Butterworth." *Lloyd Newson Interviews*, 2004. https://www.dv8.co.uk/pages/interview-in-conversation-with-jo-butterworth Accessed June 30 2018

Callis, Lydia. "Performing Arts Interpreters." LC Interpreting Services, http://www.signlanguagenyc.com/performing-arts-asl-interpreters/. Accessed 17 November 2017

Campbell, Angela. "Performing Cultural Heritage: Authenticity and the Spirit of Rebellion." *Australasian Drama Studies*, no. 66 (2015): 155-78.

Candy, Linda. "Research and Creative Practice." In *Interacting: Art, Research and the Creative Practitioner*, edited by L Candy and E.A Edmonds, 33-59. Faringdon, UK: Libri Publishing Ltd, 2011.

Carceral Archipelago. "The Carceral Archipelago: Transnational Circulations in Global Perspective, 1415-1960." University of Leicester, https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/history/research/grants/CArchipelago. Accessed 30 June 2018

Carr, E.H. *What Is History?* Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1961.

Cartmell, Deborah, and Imelda Whelehan. *Adaptations: From Text to Screen, Screen to Text*. Oxford: Routledge, 1999.

———. "A practical understanding of literature on screen: two conversations with Andrew Davies." In *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, edited by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

———. *Screen Adaptations: Impure Cinema*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Casella, Eleanor Conlin, and Clayton Fredericksen. "Legacy of the 'fatal shore': The heritage and archaeology of confinement in post-colonial Australia." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (2004): 99-125.

Casey, Dawn. "Cultural Institutions as Custodians : Reflections of a National Museum Director." Chap. 7 In *Memory, Monuments and Museums: The past in the present*, edited by Marilyn Lake. Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 2006.

"Charlotte Fulton Conduct Record CON41/1/16." Hobart, Tasmania: Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office, 1848.

Christopher, Emma, and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart. "Convict transportation in global context, c. 1700-88." In *The Cambridge History of Australia: Volume 1: Indigenous and Colonial Australia*, edited by Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Clark, Julia. "Talking with empty rooms." *Historic Environment* 16, no. 3 (2002): 34-37.

Clarke, Marcus. *For the Term of His Natural Life*. Hobart: Drinkwater Publishing, 1874 / 1984.

Clarkson, Chris, Zenobia Jacobs, Ben Marwick, Richard Fullagar, Lynley Wallis, Mike Smith, Richard G. Roberts*, et al.* "Human occupation of northern Australia by 65,000 years ago." *Nature* 547 (2017): 306.

Clendinnen, Inga. *The History Question : who owns the past?* Quarterly essay: issue 23. Melbourne: Black Inc., 2006.

Cobb, Shelley. "Canons, Critical Approaches, and Contexts." In *Teaching Adaptations*, edited by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Cooke, Rachel. "The Miniaturist review - Jessie Burton's much-hyped but unconvincing debut." *The Observer*, 29 June 2014. https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/jun/29/the-miniaturist-jessie-burton-review Accessed 13 August 2018

Copeland, Tim. "Constructing Pasts: Interpreting the Historic Environment." In *Heritage Interpretation*, edited by Alison Hems and Marion Blockley. Oxon: Routledge, 2006.
Corrigan, Timothy. "Literature on screen, a history: in the gap." In *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, edited by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
Cowley, Trudy. *A drift of 'Derwent ducks' : lives of the 200 female Irish convicts transported on the Australasia from Dublin to Hobart in 1849*. Hobart, Tasmania: Research Tasmania, 2005.
Cowley, Trudy, Dianne Snowden, and Research Tasmania. *Patchwork Prisoners : The Rajah Quilt and the women who made it*. Hobart, Tasmania: Research Tasmania, 2013.
Creeber, Glen. "It's not TV, it's online drama: The return of the intimate screen." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 14, no. 6 (2011): 591-606.
Croall, Jonathan. *Buzz Buzz! Playwrights, ACtors and Directors at the National Theatre*. UK: Methuen Drama, 2008.
Cull, Nicholas J. "Culloden and the Alternative Form of Historical Filmmaking." In *Retrovisions: Reinventing the Past in Film and Fiction*, edited by Deborah Cartmell, I. Q. Hunter and Imelda Whelehan. London: Pluto Press, 2001.
Currency Press. *The Secret River - Andrew Bovell.* Podcast audio. Not In Print 2014.
Daley, Paul. "Banished review - it's the blackfellas who are banished from BBC drama." *The Guardian*, 25 June 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2015/jun/25/banished-review-its-the-blackfellas-who-are-banished-from-bbc-drama Accessed 13 August 2018
Daniels, Kay. *Convict Women*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1998.
———. "Cults of Nature: Cults of History." *Island Magazine* 16 (1983): 3-8.
Davies, Serena. "David Starkey: it is 'ludicrous' to suggest that historical novelists have authority." *The Telegraph*, 11 May 2013. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/10049866/David-Starkey-it-is-ludicrous-to-suggest-that-historical-novelists-have-authority.html Accessed 13 August 2013
Davison, Graeme. "Heritage: From Patrimony to Pastiche." In *The Heritage Reader*, edited by Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H Jnr Jameson and John Schofield. Oxon: Routledge, 2008.
———. "What should a National Museum do? Learning from the World ". In *Memory, Monuments and Museums: The past in the present*, edited by Marilyn Lake. Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 2006.
de Groot, Jerome. *Consuming History*. Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2009.
———. *Remaking History: The past in contemporary historical fictions*. UK: Routledge, 2016.
Deary, Terry. *Vile Victorians*. UK: Scholastic, 1994.
Deswarte, Richard. "Growing the 'Faith in Numbers': Quantitative Digital Resources and Historical Research in the Twenty-First Century." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 15, no. 2 (2010): 281-86.
Dewar, Mickey, and Clayton Fredericksen. "Prison Heritage, Public History and Archaeology at Fannie Bay Gaol, Northern Australia." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9, no. 1 (2003): 45-63.

Dicecco, Nico. "State of the Conversation: The Obscene Underside of Fidelity." *Adaptation* 8, no. 2 (2015): 161-75.
Donnelly, Hannah. "The Unnatural Way of Things." The Writers Bloc, https://thewritersbloc.net/unnatural-way-things. Accessed 09 February 2017
Doyle, Sabrina. "Geography word of the week: Palimpsest." Canadian Geographic, https://www.canadiangeographic.ca/article/geography-word-week-palimpsest. Accessed 29 June 2018
Duffield, Ian, and James Bradley, eds. *Representing Convicts : new perspectives on convict forced labour migration*, New historical perspectives on migration. London: Leicester University Press, 1997.
Düring, Marten. "Network Analaysis in the Historical Disciplines." Historical Network Research, http://historicalnetworkresearch.org/about/. Accessed 17 November 2017
Edmonds, Penelope, and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart. ""The Whip Is a Very Contagious Kind of Thing": Flogging and humanitarian reform in penal Australia." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 17, no. 1 (2016).
Elliott, Kamilla. "Adaptation Theory and Adaptation Scholarship." In *The Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies*, edited by Thomas Leitch. UK: Oxford University Press, 2017.
———. "Doing Adaptation: The Adaptation as Critic." In *Teaching Adaptations*, edited by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
Emig, Rainer. "Adaptation in Theory." In *Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation*, edited by Pascal Nicklas and Oliver Lindner: Walter de Gruyter, 2012.
Fife, Wayne. "Penetrating Types: Conflating Modernist and Postmodernist Tourism on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland." *The Journal of American Folklore* 117, no. 464 (2004): 147-67.
Find & Connect. "Croker Island Mission (1940-1968)." https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/nt/YE00021. Accessed 30 June 2018
Flanagan, Richard. "Crowbar history: Panel games and Port Arthur." *Australian Society* 9, no. 8 (1990): 35-37.
Fortier, Mark. *Theory / Theatre*. UK: Routledge, 2002.
Founders and Survivors. "Founders and Survivors." http://foundersandsurvivors.org/. Accessed 15 February 2015
Foxhall, Katherine. "Why there are calls to boycott a BBC drama about the first convicts to colonise Australia." *The Conversation*, 12 March 2015. https://theconversation.com/why-there-are-calls-to-boycott-a-bbc-drama-about-the-first-convicts-to-colonise-australia-38466 Accessed 17 November 2017
Frayn, Michael. *Copenhagen*. UK: Methuen Books, 1998.
Freshwater, Helen. *Theatre & Audience*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
Frost, Lucy. *Abandoned Women*. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2012.
———. "The Politics of Writing Convict Lives: Academic Research, State Archives and Family History." *Life Writing* 8, no. 1 (2011): 19-33.
Gable, Eric, and Richard Handler. "After Authenticity at an American Heritage Site." *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 3 (1996): 568-78.

———. "Public History, Private Memory: Notes from the Ethnography of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, USA." *Ethnos* 65, no. 2 (2000): 237-52.
Gale, Maggie B, and Ann Featherstone. "The Imperative of the Archive: Creative Archive Research." In *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance*, edited by Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.
Geraghty, Christine. *Now a Major Motion Picture: Film Adaptations of Literature and Drama*. UK: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.
Gibb, James G. "The Archaeologist as Playwright." In *The Heritage Reader*, edited by Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H Jnr Jameson and John Schofield. Oxon: Routledge, 2008.
Giblin, R. W., and James Douglas Archer Collier. *The Early History of Tasmania*. London: Methuen, 1928.
Giddings, Robert, Keith Selby, and Chris Wensley. *Screening the Novel: The Theory and Practice of Literary Dramatization*. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1990.
Gilderhus, Mark T. *History and Historians*. Seventh ed. New Jersey: Pearson Education Inc, 2010.
Glow, Hilary. *Power Plays*. NSW, Australia: Currency Press, 2007.
Goc, Nicola. "From convict prison to the Gothic ruins of tourist attraction." *Historic Environment* 16, no. 3 (2002): 22-26.
Godfrey, Barry. *Crime in England: 1880 - 1945*. UK: Routledge, 2014.
———. "Historical and Archival Research Methods." In *The SAGE Handbook of Criminological Research Methods*, edited by David Gadd, Susanne Karstedt and Steven F. Messner. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012.
———. "Introduction." In *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Crime and Criminal Justice*, edited by Anja Johansen. UK: Oxford University Press, 2016.
Godfrey, Barry, Tim Hitchcock, and Robert Shoemaker. "The Ethics of Digital Data on Convict Lives." The Digital Panopticon, https://www.digitalpanopticon.org/The_Ethics_of_Digital_Data_on_Convict_Lives. Accessed 12 January 2018
Godfrey, Barry, Kris Inwood, and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart. "Exploring the life-course and intergenerational impact of convict transportation." In *Intergenerational Continuity of Criminal and Antisocial Behaviour: An International Overview of Studies*, edited by Veroni I. Eichelsheim and Steve G. A. van de Weijer. UK: Routledge, 2018.
Goldstein, Tara. *Staging Harriet's House: Writing and Producing Research-Informed Theatre*. New York: Peter Lang, 2012.
Gordon, Alan. "Heritage and Authenticity: The Case of Ontario's Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons." *The Canadian Historical Review* 85, no. 3 (2004): 507-31.
Graham, Brian, Gregory John Ashworth, and John E Tunbridge. "The uses and abuses of heritage." Chap. 3 In *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, edited by Gerard Corsane. Oxon: Routledge, 2005.
Graham, Scott, and Steven Hoggett. *The Frantic Assembly Book of Devising Theatre*. US: Routledge, 2012.
Green, Hank, and Bernie Su. "The Lizzie Bennet Diaries." YouTube: Pemberley Digital, 2012.

Gregory, Kate. "Art and Artifice: Peter Emmett's Curatorial Practice in the Hyde Park Barracks and Museum of Sydney." *Fabrications* 16, no. 1 (2006).
Grenville, Kate. *Searching for the Secret River*. Melbourne: Text Publishing Company, 2006.
Griffiths, Tom. *The Art of Time Travel*. Victoria, Australia: Black Inc., 2016.
———. "Past silences: Aborigines and convicts in our history-making." In *Pastiche I: Reflections on nineteenth-century Australia*, edited by Penny Russell and Richard White. NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1994.
Grundlingh, Albert. "A Cultural Conundrum? Old Monuments and New Regimes: The Voortrekker Monuments as Symbol of Afrikaner Power in a Postapartheid South Africa." *Radical History Review* 81, no. 1 (2001): 99-112.
Hadley, Bree. "Practice as Method: The Ex/centric Fixations Project." In *Material Inverntions: Applying Creative Arts Research*, edited by Estelle Barrett and Barbara Bolt, 145-65. London, UK: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2014.
Hamilton, Jillian G, and Luke O Jaaniste. "Content, structure and orientations of the practice-led exegesis." In *Art.Med.Design : Writing Intersections*. Swinburne University, Melbourne, 2009.
Harrison, Jane. "INDIG-CURIOUS: Who can play Aboriginal roles?". *Platform Papers* 30 (2012).
Hartley, L.P. *The Go-Between*. UK: Hamish Hamilton, 1953.
Haseman, Brad. "A Manifesto for Performative Research." *Media International Australia*, no. 118 (2006): 98-106.
———. "Rupture and recognition: identifying the performative research paradigm." In *Practice As Research: Approaches to Creative Arts Enquiry*, edited by Estelle Barrett and Barbara Bolt, 147-57. London, UK: I.B. Taurus, 2007.
———. "Tightrope Writing: Creative Writing Programs in the RQF Environment." *TEXT* 11, no. 1 (2007).
Heilmann, Anne, and Mark Llewellyn. *Neo-Victorianism: The Victorians in the Twenty-First Century, 1999-2009*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
Heiss, Anita. "Writing about Indigenous Australia: Some Issues to Consider and Protocols to Follow: A Discussion Paper." *Southerly* 62, no. 2 (2002): 197-205.
Helmreich, Anne, Tim Hitchcock, and William J Turkel. "Rethinking inventories in the digital age: the case of the Old Bailey." *Journal of Art Historiography* 11 (2014).
Hems, Alison, and Marion Blockley. *Heritage Interpretation*. Oxon: Routledge, 2006.
Heritage, Stuart. "Ranking the accents of Tom Hardy: cockney, Welsh, or unintelligible?" *The Guardian*, 30 January 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/film/2017/jan/30/tom-hardy-accents-locke-legend-bane-dark-knight Accessed 13 August 2018
Hitchcock, Tim. "Confronting the Digital." *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 1 (2013): 9-23.
Hitchcock, Tim, and Robert Shoemaker. "Making History Online: The Colin Matthews Lecture for the Public Understanding of History." *Transactions of the RHS* 25 (2015): 75-93.

Hughes, Catherine. *Museum Theatre: Communicating with Visitors Through Drama*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1998.
———. "Performance for learning: How emotions play a part." Ohio State University, 2008.
———. "Theater and Controversy in Museums." *The Journal of Museum Education* 23, no. 3 (1998): 13-15.
———. "Theatre Performance in Museums: Art and Pedagogy." *Youth Theatre Journal* 24, no. 1 (2010): 34-42.
Hughes, Catherine, Anthony Jackson, and Jenny Kidd. "The Role of Theater in Museums and Historic Sites: Visitors, Audiences, and Learners." In *International Handbook of Research in Arts Education*, edited by L Bresler. The Netherlands: Springer, 2007.
Hughes, Jenny, Jenny Kidd, and Catherine McNamara. "The Usefulness of Mess: Artistry, Improvisation and Decomposition in the Practice of Research in Applied Theatre." In *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance*, edited by Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.
Hughes-Warrington, Marnie, ed. *The History on Film Reader*. UK: Routledge, 2009.
Hutcheon, Linda. *A Theory of Adaptation*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
International Museum Theatre Alliance (IMTAL). "What is Interpretation?" http://imtal-europe.net/what-interpretation.html. Accessed 09 January 2015
Jackson, Anthony. "The dialogic and the aesthetic: some reflections on theatre as a learning medium." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 39, no. 4 (2005): 105-19.
———. "Inter-acting with the Past - the use of participatory theatre at museums and heritage sites." *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* 5, no. 2 (2000): 199-215.
Jackson, Anthony, and Jenny Kidd. *Performing Heritage: Research, Practice and Innovation in Museum Theatre and Live Interpretation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.
Jackson, Anthony, and Helen Rees Leahy. "'Seeing it for real...?' - Authenticity, theatre and learning in museums." *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* 10, no. 3 (2005): 303-25.
Johnson, Amanda. "Archival Salvage: History's reef and the wreck of the historical novel." *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 1 (2011).
Johnson, Katherine. "Performing Pasts for Present Purposes: Reenactment as Embodied, Performative History." In *History, Memory, Performance*, edited by David Dean, Yana Meerzon and Kathryn Prince: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
Johnston, Helen, Barry Godfrey, David Cox, and Jo Turner. "Reconstructing Prison Lifes: Criminal Lives in the Digital Age." *Prison Service Journal*, no. 210 (2013): 4-9.
Karskens, Grace. "Banished and Reclaimed: Grace Karskens examines representations of Australia's convict Heritage at the Hyde Park Barracks Museum, Sydney." *Meanjin* 60, no. 4 (2001): 26-34.

Keating, Paul. "Keating Speech: The Redfern Address." Australian Screen aso.gov.au: National Film and Sound Archive, 1992.
Kidd, Jenny. "Performing the knowing archive: heritage performance and authenticity." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17, no. 1 (2011): 22-35.
Kilroy, Peter. "Discovery, settlement or invasion? The power of language in Australia's historical narrative." *The Conversation*, April 1 2016. http://theconversation.com/discovery-settlement-or-invasion-the-power-of-language-in-australias-historical-narrative-57097 Accessed 10 February 2017
Kippen, Rebecca. "The Convict Nursery at the Cascades Female Factory, Hobart." *Founders and Survivors Chainletter*, no. 3 (2009): 5-8.
———. "'A most shocking tissue of barbarous cruelty': Scandal and Death in the Queen's Orphan Schools." *Founders and Survivors Chainletter* 5 (2010): 5-6.
Klein, Michael, and Gillian Parker. *The English Novel and the Movies*. USA: Ungar, 1981.
Knights, Mark. "The Implications of Social Media." *Cultural and Social History* 11, no. 3 (2014): 329-33.
Lake, Marilyn. "Monuments of Manhood and Colonial Dependence: The cult of ANZAC as Compensation ". In *Memory, Monuments and Museums: The past in the present*, edited by Marilyn Lake. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006.
Langton, Marcia. *"Well, I heard it on the radio and I saw it on the television... " : an essay for the Australian Film Commission on the politics and aesthetics of filmmaking by and about Aboriginal people and things*. Sydney, Australia: Australian Film Commission, 1993.
Lanier, Douglas. "William Shakespeare, filmmaker." In *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, edited by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
Lavender, Andy. *Performance in the Twenty-First Century: Theatres of Engagement*. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.
Leaver, T. "Joss Whedon, Dr Horrible and the future of web media." *Popular Communication* 11, no. 2 (2013): 160-73.
Ledger, Adam J, Simon K Ellis, and Fiona Wright. "The Question of Documentation: Creative Strategies in Performance Research." In *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance*, edited by Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.
Leitch, Thomas. "History as Adaptation." In *The Politics of Adaptation*, edited by Dan Hassler-Forest and Pascal Nicklas, 2-20. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
———, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies*. USA: Oxford University Press, 2017.
Lennon, John, and Malcolm Foley. *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. London: Thomson, 2004.
Leon, W, and M Piatt. "Living History Museums." In *History Museums in the United States: A critical assessment*, edited by W Leon and R Rozenzweig. Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Libraries Tasmania. "Tasmanian Name Index." Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office, https://linctas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/names/. Accessed 13 August 2018
Linenthal, T.E, and T Englehardt, eds. *History Wars: The Enola Gay and other battles for the American Past*. New York: DWL Books, 1996.
Liverpool Film Office. "Locations." http://www.liverpoolfilmoffice.tv/locations/. Accessed 09 August 2018
Logan, W. S., and Keir Reeves. *Places of pain and shame : Dealing with "difficult heritage"*. Oxon: Routledge, 2009.
Love, Catherine. "Keep it moving: Jeremy Herrin on staging Hilary Mantel's Tudor epics." *The Guardian*, 25 April 2014. http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2014/apr/25/jeremy-herrin-rsc-hilary-mantel-west-end-wolf-hall 13 August 2018
Lowenthal, David. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
MacCannell, Dean. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangement of Social Space in Tourist Settings." *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973).
Macfarlane, Brian. *Novel to Film: An Introduction to the Theory of Adaptation*. USA: Oxford University Press, 1996.
Macintyre, Stuart, and Anna Clark. *The History Wars*. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Publishing, 2004.
Mackay, Richard. "Port Arthur Historic Site: Inclusive conservation planning at a painful place." *Historic Environment* 16, no. 3 (2002): 13-16.
Magelssen, Scott. "Making History in the Second Person: Post-touristic Considerations for Living Historical Interpretation." *Theatre Journal* 58, no. 2 (2006): 291-312.
Man Booker Prize. "Golden Man Booker." http://themanbookerprize.com/goldenmanbooker/2018. Accessed 30 June 2018
Mantel, Hilary. "Transcript for Lecture 2: The Iron Maiden." In *The Reith Lectures*, edited by BBC Radio 4, 2017.
———. "Transcript for Lecture 4: Can these bones live?" In *The Reith Lectures*, edited by BBC Radio 4, 2017.
———. "Transcript for Lecture 5: Adaptation." In *The Reith Lectures*, edited by BBC Radio 4, 2017.
Masters, Tim. "Banished: Jimmy McGovern tells story of first British convicts in Australia." *BBC News*, 04 March 2015. http://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-30052433 13 August 2018
Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish. ""And all my great hardships endured?" Irish convicts in Van Diemen's Land." In *Transnational Perspectives on Modern Irish History*, edited by Niall Whelehan, 69-87. United Kingdom: Routledge, 2015.
———. *Closing Hell's Gates*. NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2008.
———. "'The Lottery of Life': Convict Tourism at Port Arthur Historic Site, Australia." *Prison Service Journal*, no. 210 (2013): 22-28.
———. "The State, Convicts and Longitudinal Analysis." *Australian Historical Studies* 47, no. 3 (2016): 414-29.

———. ""Those Lads Contrived a Plan": Attempts at Mutiny on Australia-Bound Convict Vessels." *International Review of Social History* 58, no. S21 (2013): 177-96.
Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish, Kris Inwood, and Jim Stankovich. "Prison and the Colonial Family." *The History of the Family* 20, no. 2 (2015): 231-48.
Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish, and Rebecca Kippen. "Sickness and Death on Convict Voyages to Australia." In *Lives in Transition: Longitudinal Research from Historical Sources*, edited by Peter Baskerville and Kris Inwood. Canada: McGill University Press, 2014.
Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish, and Lydia Nicholson. "Penal Transportation, Family History, and Convict Tourism." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Tourism*, edited by Jacqueline Z. Wilson, Sarah Hodgkinson, Justin Piche and Kevin Walby, 713-34. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
McAtackney, Laura. "Dealing with Difficult Pasts: The Dark Heritage of Political Prisons in Transitional Northern Ireland and South Africa." *Prison Service Journal*, no. 210 (2013): 17-23.
McCalman, Janet. "The Advance of Respectability in Tasmania." *Founders and Survivors Chainletter*, no. 4 (2010): 7.
———. "The Founders and Survivors Project: An overview." *Founders and Survivors Chainletter*, no. 1 (2009): 7-8.
———. "Visible and Invisible Vandemonians in Victoria." *Founders and Survivors Chainletter* 7 (2011): 3-5.
McFarlane, Brian. "Reading film and literature." In *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, edited by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
McGovern, Jimmy. "BBC's Banished: How I tried and failed to get Indigenous characters on TV." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 June 2015. https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/tv-and-radio/bbcs-banished-how-i-tried-and-failed-to-get-indigenous-characters-on-tv-20150618-ghrj3f.html Accessed 13 August 2018
McKenna, Mark. "Different Perspectives on Black Armband History." In *Research Papers 1997-98*. Australia: Parliament of Australia, 1997.
Mewburn, Inga. "Is your PhD a monster?" The Thesis Whisperer, https://thesiswhisperer.com/2013/09/11/help-i-think-i-have-created-a-monster/. Accessed 30 June 2018
Miley, Linda. "White Writing Black: Issues of Authorship and Authenticity in Non-Indigenous Representations of Australian Aboriginal Fictional Characters." Queensland University of Technology, 2006.
Miron, Rose. "Sacrificing comfort for complexity: Presenting difficult narratives in public history." National Council on Public History, http://ncph.org/history-at-work/sacrificing-comfort-for-complexity/. Accessed 08 August2018
Mitchell, David. "David Mitchell on Historical Fiction." *The Telegraph*, 08 May 2010. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/bookreviews/7685510/David-Mitchell-on-Historical-Fiction.html Accessed 13 August 2013
Monaghan, Whitney. "*Starting From...Now* and the web series to television crossover: an online revolution?". *Media International Australia* 164, no. 1 (2017): 82-91.

Morrison, Richard. "The management of a paradox: The archaeology of the Port Arthur landscape." *Historic Environment* 16, no. 3 (2002): 27-33.
Moses, A. Dirk. *Genocide and settler society : frontier violence and stolen indigenous children in Australian history*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004.
Munro, Rona, Laurie Sansom, and Al Senter. *National Theatre: Podcasts.* Podcast audio. Rona Munro and Laurie Sansom on The James Plays 2014.
Munslow, Alun. "Introduction: Theory and Practice." In *Experiments in Rethinking History*, edited by Alun Munslow and Robert A. Rosenstone. Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2004.
Munslow, Alun, and Robert A. Rosenstone, eds. *Experiments in Rethinking History*. Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2004.
Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences. "About." Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, https://maas.museum/about/. Accessed 17 November 2017
National Committee of Australia. "#17 Records of the Tasmanian Convict Department 1803-1893." UNESCO Memory of the World, http://www.amw.org.au/register/listings/records-tasmanian-convict-department-1803-1893.
National Council on Public History. "How do we define public history?" http://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/. 30 June 2018
Neill, Rosemary. "Stage adaptation of Grenville's Secret River shows audiences the blood on the banks." *The Australian*, 22 December 2012. http://www.theaustralian.com.au/arts/review/stage-adaptation-of-grenvilles-secret-river-show-audiences-the-blood-on-the-banks/story-fn9n8gph-1226540612000?nk=256f66bb1e34069cb084437178192af9 Accessed 13 August 2018
Nicholas, Stephen, ed. *Convict Workers : Reinterpreting Australia's past*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
Nicklas, Pascal, and Oliver Lindner. "Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation." In *Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation*, edited by Pascal Nicklas and Oliver Lindner: Walter de Gruyter, 2012.
Oscars. "Best Picture 2018." http://oscar.go.com/nominees/best-picture. Accessed 30 June 2018
Oxford Living Dictionaries. "Palimpsest." https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/palimpsest. Accessed 29 June 2018
Oxley, Deborah. *Convict Maids : the forced migration of women to Australia*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
Pascoe, Bruce. *Dark Emu*. Broome, Western Australia: Magabala Books, 2014.
Pass Notes. "Only correct... row rages over historical accuracy in Howards End." *The Guardian*, 20 November 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/shortcuts/2017/nov/20/only-correct-row-rages-over-historical-inaccuracy-in-howards-end Accessed 10 August 2018
Patel, Vinay. "Why Master of None Isn't Just Good Telly - It's Everything I Always Hoped For." shut up and deal, https://vinayskpatel.wordpress.com/2015/11/08/why-master-of-none-isnt-just-good-telly-its-everything-i-always-hoped-for/. Accessed 08 November 2015
"Police Court, Launceston." *The Cornwall Chronicle*, 29/09/1875 1875.

Prescott, Andrew. "I'd Rather be a Librarian." *Cultural and Social History* 11, no. 3 (2014): 335-41.
Raw, Laurence, and Defne Ersin Tutan, eds. *The Adaptation of History*. US: McFarland, 2012.
Rayner, Tony. *Female Factory Female Convicts : the story of the more then 13,000 women exiled from Britain to Van Diemen's Land*. Dover, Tasmania: Experance Press, 2004.
Reece, Bob. "Writing about convicts in Western Australia." *Studies in Western Australian History* 24 (2006): 98-113.
Reid, Daina. "The Secret River." Australia: Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2015.
Reid, Kirsty. *Gender, Crime and Empire*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2007.
Reynolds, Henry. *An Indelible Stain? : the question of genocide in Australia's history*. Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 2001.
Richardson, Laurel. "Writing: a method of enquiry." In *Handbook of qualitative research*, edited by Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S Lincoln, 516-29. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1994.
Richardson, Sean. "Review: Howards End Episode 2." https://richardsonphd.wordpress.com/2017/11/20/review-howards-end-episode-2/. Accessed 13 August 2018
Rijksmuseum. "Rijksmuseum lauches Escape Game." https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/press/press-releases/rijksmuseum-launches-escape-game. Accessed 30 June 2018
Robertshaw, Andrew. "Live Interpretation." In *Heritage Interpretation*, edited by Alison Hems and Marion Blockley. Oxon: Routledge, 2006.
Robson, L. L., and Michael Roe. *A short history of Tasmania*. [2nd] ed. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Rokem, Freddie. *Performing History: Theatrical Representations of the Past in Contemporary Theatre*. Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2000.
Rosenstone, Robert A. *History on Film/Film on History*. 2nd edition ed. UK: Routledge, 2012.
———. *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History*. Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
———. "Walker: The Dramatic Film as (Postmodern) History." In *Revisioning History*, edited by Robert A. Rosenstone. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995.
Roth, Stacy F. *Past into Present: effective techniques for first-person historical interpretation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
Ruhl, Sarah. *In the Next Room or the vibrator play*. US: Theatre Communications Group, 2010.
Russo, Angelina, Jerry Watkins, and Susan Groundwater-Smith. "The impact of social media on informal learning in museums." *Educational Media International* 46, no. 2 (2009): 153-66.
SA, Nunkuwarrin Yunti of. "Link-Up." http://nunku.org.au/our-services/social-emotional/link-up/.
Salvati, Andrew J. "History bites: mashing up history and gothic fiction in Abraham Lincoln: Vampire Hunter." *Rethinking History* 20, no. 1 (2016): 97-115.

Saumarez Smith, Charles. "Museums, Artefacts, and Meanings." In *The New Museology*, edited by Peter Vergo. London: Reaktion Books, 1989.
Schechner, Richard. *Between Theater and Anthropology*. USA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.
Schneider, Rebecca. *Theatre & History*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
Scholz, Anne-Marie. *From Fidelity to History*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013.
Schon, Donald A. *The Reflective Practitioner: How professionals think in action*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
Sherry, Jamie. "Teaching Adapting Screenwriters: Adaptation Theory through Creative Practice." In *Teaching Adaptations*, edited by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
Smith, Richard. "What is Digital Media?" Centre for Digital Media, https://thecdm.ca/news/what-is-digital-media. Accessed 30 June 2018
Snow, S. E. *Performing the pilgrims: Ethno-historical role-playing at Plimoth Plantation*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993.
Sorensen, Colin. "Theme Parks and Time Machines." In *The New Museology*, edited by Peter Vergo. London: Reaktion Books, 1989.
Stam, Robert. "Beyond Fidelity: The Dialogics of Adaptation." In *Film Adaptation*, edited by James Naremore. USA: Rutgers University Press, 2000.
States, Bert O. "The Phenomological Atittude." In *Critical Theory and Performance*, edited by Joseph R. Roach and Janelle G. Reinelt. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010.
Stearn, Tom. "What's Wrong with Television History?". *History Today* 52, no. 12 (2002): 26-27.
Stewart, Robyn. "(Re)inventing artists' research: constructing living forms of theory." *Text* 7, no. 2 (2003).
Stocker, Bryony D. "'Bygonese' - Is This Really the Authentic Language of Historical Fiction?". *New Writing* 9, no. 3 (2012): 308-18.
Stockings, Craig, ed. *Zombie Myths of Australian Military History*. NSW, Australia: University of New South Wales Press, 2010.
Stoler, Ann Laura. "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance." *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 87-109.
Stone, Philip R. "A dark tourism spectrum: Towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions." *Tourism* 54, no. 2 (2006): 145-60.
Stoppard, Tom. *The Coast of Utopia*. revised ed. US: Grove Press, 2007.
Strange, C. "From 'Place of MIsery' to 'Lottery of Life': Interpreting Port Arthur's Past." *Open Museum Journal* 2 (2000): 1-33.
Strange, Carolyn, and Michael Kempa. "Shades of Dark Tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island." *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 2 (2003): 386-405.
Students@LSE. "Being Interdisciplinary with Tinned Tomatoes." Student Life, http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/studentsatlse/2017/01/17/being-interdisciplinary-with-tinned-tomatoes/. Accessed 17 January 2018
Stupp, Jason. "Slavery and the Theatre of History: Ritual Performance on the Auction Block." *Theatre Journal* 63, no. 1 (2011): 61-84.
Swicord, Robin. "Under the Skin: Adapting Novels for the Screen." In *In/Fidelity: Essays on Film Adaptation*, edited by David L Kranz and Nancy C Mellerski. UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008.

Tan, Elaine. "Informal learning on Youtube: exploring digital literacy in independent online learning." *Learning, Media and Technology* 38, no. 4 (2013): 463-77.
Taylor, Ruth. "The National Trust." In *Heritage Interpretation*, edited by Alison Hems and Marion Blockley. Oxon: Routledge, 2006.
Teale, Ruth, ed. *Colonial Eve: Sources on Women in Australia 1788-1914*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978.
Terry-Chandler, Fiona. "Vanished Circumstance: Titanic, heritage, and film." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6, no. 1 (2000): 66-76.
The Stage. "Olivier Awards 2018: the winners in full." https://www.thestage.co.uk/news/2018/olivier-awards-2018-the-winners-in-full/. Accessed 30 June 2018
Tilden, Freeman. *Interpreting Our Heritage*. Third ed. USA: University of North Carolina Press, 1957.
Tosh, John, and Seán Lang. *The Pursuit of History*. Fourth ed. Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited, 2006.
Tranter, Bruce, and Jed Donoghue. "Colonial and post-colonial aspects of Australian identity." *The British Journal of Sociology* 58, no. 2 (2007): 165-83.
Troost, Linda V. "The Nineteenth-Century Novel on Film: Jane Austen." In *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, edited by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
Tufnell, Miranda, and Chris Crickmay. *Body Space Image: notes towards improvisation and performance*. UK: Dance Books, 1990.
Turner, Jennifer, and Kimberley Peters. "Doing Time-Travel: Performing past and present at the prison museum." In *Historical Geographies of Prisons: Unlocking the Usable Carceral Past*, edited by Karen M Morin and Dominique Moran: Routledge, 2015.
Tyler-McGraw, Marie. "Becoming Americans Again: Re-Envisioning and Revising Thematic Interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg." *The Public Historian* 20, no. 3 (1998): 53-76.
Ubersfeld, Anne, Pierre Bouillaguet, and Charles Jose. "The Pleasure of the Spectator." *Modern Drama* 25, no. 1 (1982): 127-39.
UNESCO. "Australian Convict Sites." https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1306. Accessed 30 June 2018
University of Tasmania. "Diploma of Family History." http://www.utas.edu.au/arts-law-education/study/diploma-of-family-history. Accessed 23 October 2017
Uzzell, David. "Interpreting our heritage: a theoretical interpretation." In *Contemporary Issues in Heritage & Environmental Interpretation*, edited by David Uzzell and Ron Ballantyne. UK: The Stationery Office, 1998.
Uzzell, David, and Ron Ballantyne. "Heritage that hurts: interpretation in a postmodern world." In *Contemporary Issues in Heritage and Environmental Interpretation*, edited by David Uzzell and Ron Ballantyne. UK: The Stationery Office, 1998.
Van Schilt, S. "How to talk Australians and the rise of the web series." *Kill Your Darlings*, 03 October 2014. http://www.killyourdarlingsjournal.com/2014/10/how-talk-australians-rise-web-series/ Accessed 17 November 2017

Vergo, Peter, ed. *The New Museology*. London: Reaktion Books, 1989.
———. "The Reticent Object." In *The New Museology*, edited by Peter Vergo. London: Reaktion Books, 1989.
Voigts-Virchow, Eckart. "Heritage and literature on screen." In *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, edited by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
Wagner, Geoffrey Atheling. *The Novel and the Cinema*. USA: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1975.
Walby, Kevin, and Justin Piché. "The polysemy of punishment memorialization: Dark tourism and Ontario's penal history museums." *Punishment & Society* 13, no. 4 (2011): 451-72.
———. "Staged authenticity in penal history sites across Canada." *Tourist Studies* Online First (2015): 1-17.
Wang, Nina. "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience." *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 2 (1999): 349-70.
Ward, Chris. "Impressions of the Somme." In *Experiments in Rethinking History*, edited by Alun Munslow and Robert A. Rosenstone. Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2004.
Weiser, Frans. "Contextualizing History-as-Adaptation: An Interdisciplinary Comparison of Historical Revisionism." *Adaptation* (2017).
Welch, M. "Penal tourism and a tale of four cities: Reflecting on the museum effect in London, Sydney, Melbourne, and Buenos Aires." *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 13, no. 5 (2013): 479-505.
Whelehan, Imelda. *Bridget Jones's Diary: A Reader's Guide*. New York: Continuum International Publishing, 2002.
———. ""Don't let's ask for the moon!" : reading and viewing the woman's film." In *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, edited by Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
———. "Neo-Victorian Adaptations." In *A Companion to Literature, Film and Adaptation*, edited by Deborah Cartmell. UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
Whitaker, Anne-Maree. "Rogue History?". *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 11 (2009): 233-36.
Widdowson, Peter. "'Writing back': contemporary re-visionary fiction." *Textual Practice* 20, no. 3 (2006): 491-507.
Wilkins, Lola. "Official War Art at the Australian War Memorial." *Agora* 45, no. 2 (2010): 19-24.
Williams, Paul. *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemoriate Atrocities*. Oxford: Berg, 2007.
Wilson, Jacqueline Z. "Australian Prison Tourism: A Question of Narrative Integrity." *History Compass* 9, no. 8 (2011): 562-71.
———. "Dark tourism and the celebrity prisoner: Front and back regions in representations of an Australian historical prison." *Journal of Australian Studies* 28, no. 82 (2004): 1-13.
———. "Representing Pentridge." *Australian Historical Studies* 37, no. 125 (2005): 113-33.
Windschuttle, Keith. *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History*. NSW: Macleay Press, 2002.
Wood, Danielle. *The Alphabet of Light and Dark*. Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2003.

Yeates, Helen L. "Embedded engagements: the challenge of creative practice research to the humanities." *The International Journal of the Humanities* 7, no. 1 (2009): 139-47.
Young, David. *Making Crime Pay : the evolution of convict tourism in Tasmania*. Hobart: Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1996.